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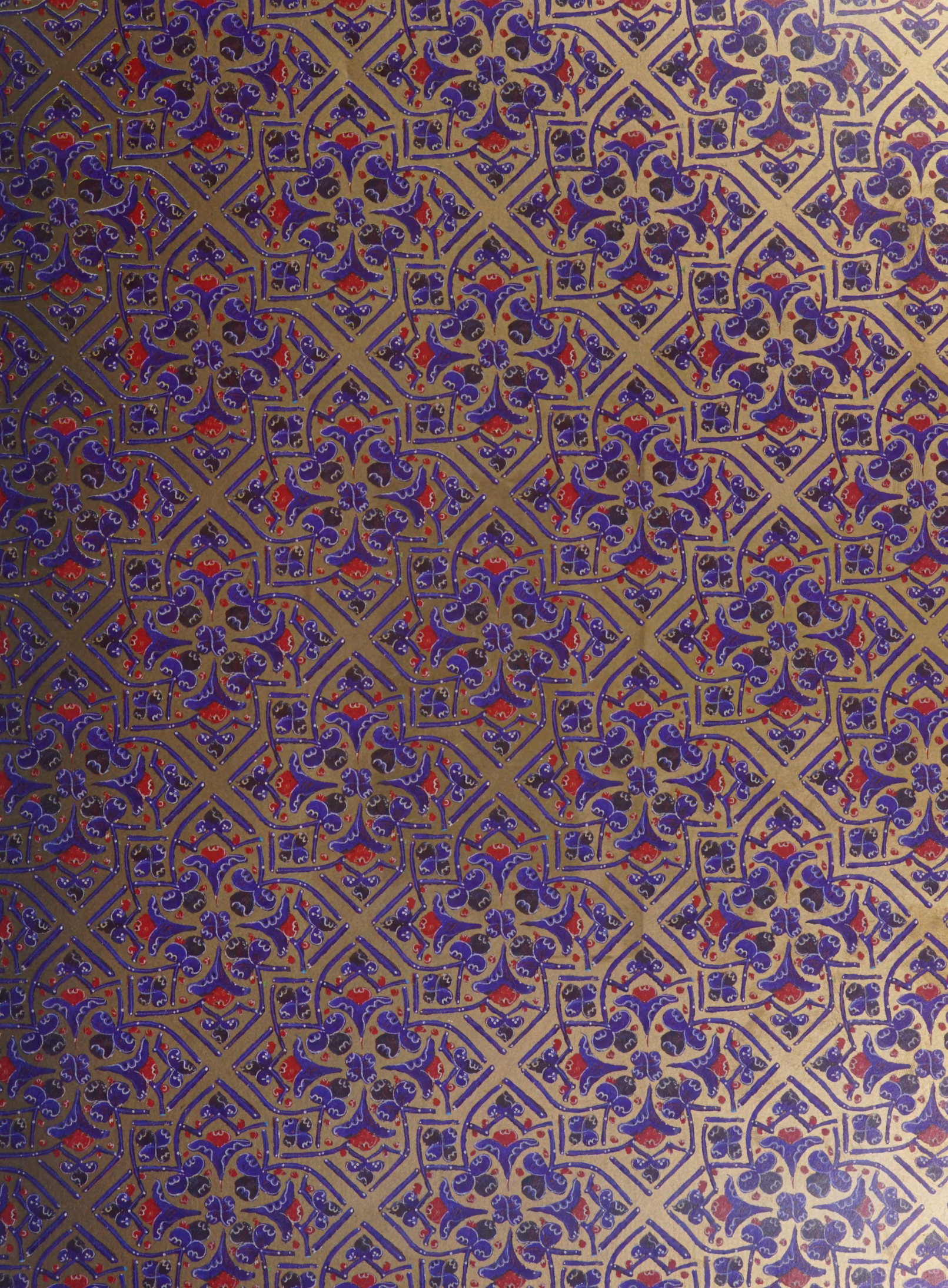

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(Illustrated Manuscripts:
Original english text by N. Ševčenko)

NOTES-BIBLIOGRAPHY
Anna Mihopoulou

SPECIAL PHOTOGRAPHY
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PRODUCTION DIRECTOR
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COMPOSITION
PHOTOGRAMMA Ltd.

COLOUR SEPARATIONS
ADAM, HELLENIC REPRODUCTION

STRIPPING
A. ALOSKOPHIS

PRINTED BY
ST. KARYDAKIS, GRAPHIC ARTS

JACKET AND SLIPCASE
E. DANIEL & Co. S.A.

BOUND BY
E. & J. ZERVINIS

Theology Library
CHOOL OF THEOLOG
AT CLAREMONT
Californie

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by Ekdotike Athenon S.A.
1, Vissarionos St., 106 72 Athens
Printed and bound in Greece

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CONTENTS

Preface 9

Historical Background ..... (*H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler*) 11

Introduction ..... (*A. Kominis*) 15

Architecture ..... (*Ch. Bouras*) 25

Wall Paintings ..... (*E. Kollias*) 57

Icons ..... (*M. Chatzidakis*) 105

Church Gold Embroideries ..... (*M. Theocharis*) 185

Church Silver ..... (*Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos*) 221

Illustrated Manuscripts ..... (*D. Mouriki - N. P. Ševčenko*) 277

The Library and the Archive 327

- The Manuscripts ..... (*A. Kominis*) 328
- The Archive of Byzantine Documents ..... (*E. Vranoussi*) 331
- Documents of Byzantine Functionaries ..... (*M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou*) 334
- Patriarchal, Monastery and Private Documents ..... (*N.O.*) 336
- Archival Material in Foreign Languages ..... (*Chr. Maltezou*) 338
- The Archive from the Period of Turkish Rule ..... (*V. Panayotopoulos*) 339
- Printed Books ..... (*E. Franghiscos*) 341

Glossary 362

Abbreviations 363

Notes–Bibliography 364

List of Illustrations 377

Index 380

PREFACE

Two major historical events have led to Patmos being called 'the holy island of the Aegean'. The first is the arrival there in A.D. 95 of the Evangelist, Saint John the Theologian, who wrote the book of Revelation on the island; and the second is the foundation in 1088, at the beginning of the second millenium of the Christian era, of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian by the monk Christodoulos, armed with three chrysobulls from the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Comnenos.

During the nine centuries of its life, the Monastery on Patmos has assembled and preserved many precious treasures of art and culture, and, along with the Patmian School, it has supplied the Orthodox Church with patriarchs and other enlightened prelates, and the State and the intellectual world with distinguished personalities.

To mark the ninth centenary of the foundation of the Sacred Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 'Ekdotike Athenon' is publishing the present luxury volume – 'Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery' – in recognition of the Monastery's enormous contribution both to Orthodoxy and to Hellenism. The book is appearing in four languages simultaneously, Greek, English, French and German. We venture to hope that this volume will prove worthy of the spiritual work of the Monastery and its priceless treasures.

'Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery' contains chapters on the various kinds of works of art housed in the Monastery from the Byzantine and modern Greek popular traditions, and also on the rare manuscripts and valuable editions in the Library, the richest in the Aegean. These chapters, each lavishly illustrated, deal with the architecture of the fortress-like complex of the Monastery, the outstanding wall paintings and icons, the masterpieces of gold-embroidery and church silver, the exquisite miniatures in the manuscripts, and the other treasures in the Library and the archive.

University professors and other elected scholars and artists have worked with devotion and respect to produce this volume and have tried to present the treasures with as full and accurate a documentation as possible. I, personally, as the publisher, and everyone else who has worked on this publication, consider it a great honour to have been involved in presenting to the public the treasures of Byzantine art guarded throughout the centuries by this brilliant spiritual centre of Orthodoxy and Hellenism.

The Publisher
GEORGE A. CHRISTOPOULOS

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1088 a papal bull was promulgated decreeing the final erection of the Monastery of Cluny, the famous centre of Catholicism from which, a few years later, the First Crusade was proclaimed. 1088 is also the date of the documents issued by the Byzantine emperor (chrysobulls, royal *pittakion* and orders) and the administrative decisions (the proceedings for the handing over and measurement of the island) by which permission was granted for the erection on Patmos of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian. Apart from the coincidence of date, this makes it possible to make common reference to the evolution of the two, now rival Christian worlds. Cluny represents the vigour and aggression of the Latins, Patmos the resistance and struggle for survival of Byzantine Orthodoxy. The 12th century opened with the clash of these two worlds, despite the danger then threatening Christendom – despite, that is, the advances made at this period by the pagan Turks. Patmos, 'an uninhabited island, at the mercy of piratical raids by the Agarene pirates and the Turks', as Christodoulos describes it in 1091, was converted by the toil of the monks into a refuge of the hopes of the Orthodox world for a better tomorrow, amidst the turmoil of fratricidal battle. 1988 marks the celebration by the entire Christian world of the nine hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos; let us hope that this date is a landmark and the beginning of Christian brotherhood and worldwide solidarity.

From as early as the first century A.D. Patmos occupied an enviable position in the history of Christianity, thanks to Saint John the Theologian, who wrote the book of Revelation there (about A.D. 95), it nevertheless had to wait for almost one thousand years before, thanks to Hosios Christodoulos and his monastery, it attained the intellectual standing and economic prosperity that enabled it to play a leading role in the fortunes of Hellenism and Orthodoxy. A necessary precondition of economic growth was the continuous contact enjoyed by the humble island with the coast of Asia Minor (especially the cities of Miletos, Ephesos and Smyrna), Crete and, of course, the islands of the Aegean; these contacts were in turn owed to the island's favoured geographical position. The granting of exemption from customs dues to the monastery's boats (it is significant that the relevant chrysobull is contemporary with the imperial bull founding the monastery) reveals the concern shown by the Byzantine emperors for the economic development of the monastery on Patmos; in time, this evolved into a major ship-owner – our most reliable evidence for the Byzantine mercantile fleet comes from documents in the monastery – and into an important economic centre, thanks to its production, based on its farm lands, and the carrying trade between Asia Minor and Crete conducted by the small monastery fleet.

These two areas came under the influence of, and were the sites of estates owned by the newly founded monastery of Saint John the Theologian – that is, of Patmos, for the island was identified with the monastery of Christodoulos from the early years after its foundation, beginning with the granting of the island to Christodoulos. Route maps and charts

frequently use the name of the monastery to refer to Patmos (Patino, Palmosa), and the abbot of the Monastery is regarded as lord and master of the island, that is, its undisputed ruler, both in the Byzantine period and during the centuries of Turkish rule. At the time when it was granted by Alexios I Comnenos, at the instigation of his mother Anna Dalassina, to Christodoulos, for him to build the Monastery, Patmos was an 'uninhabited, deserted and waterless little island'; thanks to the work of the monastic community, to which the Patmian School of the period of Turkish rule attests so eloquently, it developed into an enviable intellectual centre, indissolubly connected with the fortunes of the Aegean and of Christian Asia Minor from the 12th century to the present day.

The history of the island faithfully reflects the vicissitudes of the turbulent years of the Byzantine resistance to the Turks: the advance of the latter was facilitated by the efforts of the Latins and their allies to expand at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. Events such as the development of the Italian naval forces, and the role played by Amalfi and Venice in commercial and economic affairs in the 11th century, often to the detriment of Byzantium; the final schism of the Churches in 1054, and the mutual excommunication that followed; or the Byzantine–Norman conflict that, in 1081, brought the Norman invader into the Ionian Sea and Greek territories, are all indicative of the erosion and disintegration of the relations between Byzantium and the Christian West; this led through the Crusades a few years later to the period of Latin Rule in the 13th century, after Constantinople had fallen to the Franks in 1204.

Hostilities began before the end of the 11th century. Patmos, a centre of the naval network that covered the south-east Aegean, developed into a theatre of conflicting interests as early as the 12th century, and became a concern of imperial policy; this aimed at consolidating the Byzantine presence in this much contested part of the Aegean, at one of the most critical periods in Byzantine history – when what had recently been the world empire of Constantinople had to face countless foes threatening her borders to the North (the Petsenengoi) the West (the Normans) and the East (the Seljuk Turks). The successes of these external foes led John of Antioch to write, with an element of exaggeration, of course, that there came a moment then (in the reign of Alexios I) when the borders of the once immense empire were delineated by the walls of the Byzantine capital alone. Certainly, during the last quarter of the 11th century Byzantium began a protracted war on two fronts – against the Turks in the East, and against the Normans and later the Crusaders in the West: this war undermined the foundations of the empire, prepared the way for the dramatic events of 1204 (the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders, and the dissolution of the empire until the recovery of the capital in 1261), and presaged the tragic end in 1453. The decline began before the final humiliation, however, when the Byzantine state suffered defeats that brought hostile armies into her territories. While the battle of Manzikert in 1071 marked the advance of the Turks in Asia Minor, the capture of Bari by the Normans in this same year signalled the end of Byzantine suzerainty in Italy; both of these events not only dulled the brilliance of the empire but also permitted the growth of hostile forces within the territories of the once invincible empire.

The creation of the Norman state on the ruins of Byzantine Italy and the Arab emirate of Palermo, and the establishment of the Sultanate of Iconium and the other Seljuk emirates in the territories of Byzantine Asia Minor, resulted in the loss of the territorial cohesion of Byzantium in the East, and the appearance of hostile forces in the Byzantine seas (the Normans threatened the Ionian sea and the Turks of Tzachas the Aegean) and caused the Byzantine Empire to contract to the point at which its ultimate collapse became conceivable. The Turkish Emir of Smyrna, Tzachas, with the aid of the Petsenengoi, laid claim to the Byzantine throne as early as 1091, just as, a few years earlier (1081) the Norman leader

Robert Giscard had aspired to the imperial title of Constantinople. The arrest of this decline was the task facing Alexios I, the founder of the dynasty of the Comnenoi, who, in 1088, amidst the turmoil of this critical moment of history, became the emperor-donor, the co-founder, one might say, with Hosios Christodoulos, of the truly imperial, autonomous and self-governing Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos.

Byzantine concern for the Aegean now found symbolic expression in the imperial interest in Patmos. In urging her son, the emperor, to grant the island for the erection of the monastery, the pious mother of Alexios Comnenos was primarily serving, unconsciously and unwittingly, no doubt, the interests of the empire: Patmos, as a result of the vigour and life given to it by the famous monastic community, was converted from an *uninhabited* and *deserted* island into a vital base for the Byzantine fleet, fully equipped to build ships, and valuable enough to be supplied at all costs. The island soon became famous for its wealth, which made it a prized target for the pirates and corsairs roving the Byzantine seas. The sea-robbers of the period, while certainly serving their own interests, were also in the service of foreign naval powers, such as Venice and Genoa, which were steadily extending their control of the seas in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The island and its inhabitants, usually mercenaries in the pay of the Monastery, suffered repeated pillaging at the hands of the pirates. For a time (at the end of the 12th century) Patmos and the neighbouring islands fell into the hands of the Sicilians, the Normans who, after their victory over Thessalonike in 1185, pillaged the Aegean; according to tradition, they attempted to carry off the miraculous relic of Hosios Christodoulos. They hoped by so doing to follow the example and repeat the achievement of the Italian merchants from Bari who, a century previously, had transported the relic of Saint Nicholas to their homes from Myra in Lycia. Like the attempt shortly afterwards by the Franks, who landed on the island in 1192 under king Rhilip Auguste, the Norman endeavour failed, thanks to the miraculous intervention of Hosios Christodoulos, though this did not lead to the abatement of the piratical attacks on Patmos. The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, and of Crete by the Venetians, exposed the island to the continuous threat of 'the godless Italians and the impious pirates', according to a document of 1261/2, referring to a piratical raid of 1258 – a raid that was successful, despite the fact that the fleet of Nicaea was in control of the seas in this area at the time.

One of the lines of the saints records another raid by Italians in 1280, and the situation deteriorated during the course of the Byzantine-Venetian embroilment (1281-1285) to the point where Patmos was now regarded as easy prey for pirates. It was now the turn of the Turks of Asia Minor to threaten Patmos, from as early as the beginning of the 14th century; finally, the arrival of the Knights of Saint John in the south-east Mediterranean (Rhodes was conquered by them about 1340) led the monks to negotiate with the local authorities, who recognised their *de facto* authority over the island.

The island, and more specifically the monastery and the abbot, succeeded in eliciting this recognition of their authority from the local authorities who imposed their sovereignty in the area from the beginning of the 15th century – I refer to the Ottoman Turks, with whom the monks appear to have entered into negotiations before the end of the 14th century.

The many foreign travellers who visited the island during the period of Turkish rule all stressed the Greek character of the inhabitants (the Turks do not appear to have settled on Patmos); they also emphasised the self-governing nature of the monastic community, under the undisputed leadership of its representative the abbot, the only authority recognised by the Turkish powers. This privilege was undoubtedly owed to the fact that the island surrendered without a struggle to the Ottoman Turks, immediately after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, at a time when the south-east Aegean was disturbed by Turkish naval enterprises against the Knights of Saint John; these activities caused disturbances in

the life of Patmos, until they came to an end with the Pax Ottomanica of the 16th century.

It would be an overstatement to claim that the Ottoman sovereignty in the Aegean led to the pacification of the area. The islands, and Patmos in particular, never ceased to attract the attention of pirate ships of all kinds and of all origins: so much so that a modus vivendi was eventually arrived at between the islanders and the pirates. Many scholars believe that this association was an unexpected source of wealth for the inhabitants. The harbours of the Aegean islands are known to have become busy commercial centres, and markets for the goods procured by piracy. Patmos, like the neighbouring island of Mykonos, exploited the commercial activity of its harbour. From the Byzantine period to the present day, the island may be said to owe its economic vitality mainly to the labours of the monks and their application to shipping and commerce; this made possible the development of cottage industries (knitting) and also of intellectual life, and the spread of the island's influence, mainly during the period of Turkish rule.

The position occupied by Patmos in Greek letters is such that it may inhesitatingly be described as the 'Mount Athos of the island world'. It should not be forgotten that, thanks to the valuable library formed by the founder of the monastery himself, and thanks to the continuous intellectual activity of the monks and the many clergy who took refuge on the island after the Turkish raids in Asia Minor, a school was able to operate on Patmos after 1713 which Lacroix unhesitatingly described as the 'University of the Archipelago'. Lacroix notes that Greek and philology were taught at the Patmian School, and also Italian (perhaps one should say Latin?), and, of course, rhetoric and logic. It is significant that there were at the School pupils from various parts of Greece (special mention is made of the Peloponnese), and also from abroad. Pococke notes that the School had the best teachers in the East, and that the 51 students from various countries were taught the 'Physics' and 'Metaphysics' of Aristotle from a manuscript in the well-stocked Monastery Library. The culture of the island is reflected in the education of the inhabitants, and also in its very architecture; the English traveller Charles Perry hymned the rare beauty of its inhabitants, and Maihows wrote that Patmos, with a population of only 300 souls, had the best-built houses in the Aegean! Thus, thanks to the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, once a 'remote wilderness, devoid of men' (as Christodoulos described it in his *Hypotyposis*), where the Byzantine recorder Nikolaos Tzanzis, in 1088, found not even the remains of a tree, 'nor even a single house standing', was converted into an intellectual centre, a jewel of Orthodoxy that to the present day sheds lustre on the Christian Aegean.

INTRODUCTION

Few monuments can lay claim to continuity of existence, a unique and multi-faceted character, spirituality and at the same time a harmonious adaptation to an environment like the Aegean; invaluable treasures themselves, they are also cultural repositories of an astounding collection of both movable and unmovable treasures. One such monument is the Sacred Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos, a golden treasury of the Byzantine, post-Byzantine and modern Greek traditions, which this year celebrates 900 years of uninterrupted existence and influence. A text frequently runs the danger of losing credibility when it is called upon to use words such as unique, rare, amazing, unrepeatable, and the like.

This volume, an important contribution to the celebration of the ninth centenary of the foundation of the Monastery, aspires to present – successfully, one hopes – a concise picture of the entire historical treasure of an area of Hellenism whose duration coincides roughly with the second millenium after Christ.

The main mission of the monastery was of course to act as a centre of Orthodox worship, but the Orthodox Church in the East, as is well known, was always identified with Hellenism and the Greek tradition, its struggles and problems, its language and culture. Consequently, religious objects should not be seen merely as functional tools in the hands of the user-celebrant conducting the divine service, but as the artistic creations of artists who themselves celebrate in their own fashion, painting, writing, engraving, or embroidering. We should also see that the user-celebrant and the creator-artist were not acting independently, or only for themselves, but worked within the smaller or larger community for their country.

The treasures of the Patmos Monastery, then, give us a picture of life and culture rare in its continuity, and reveal to us a superb stage for Greek history, illuminated from various sides, some already known and others completely new, that occasionally surprise not only the uninformed spectator, but also the experienced scholar.

The present volume, prepared with the cooperation of specialist scholars in each field, and with the familiar expertise of Ekdotike Athenon, begins with a review of the Historical Background, followed by a number of sections, each supremely representative of the meaning of the word 'treasures', dealing with the Architecture, Wall Paintings, Icons, Gold Embroideries, Church Silver, Manuscripts, and the treasures of the Library and Archive.

All these different reviews of the artistic and historical material converge in the general observation that the Monastery of Patmos is indeed a rare example of the living presence of Hellenism in the heart of the Aegean, the meeting point of three continents. It is this peaceful and fertile encounter that the authors of the following sections attempt to describe, each from his own point of view.

ARCHITECTURE

An examination of the fortified complex of the Monastery holds exciting surprises in store for the scholar and the non-specialist reader alike. One of the first features to be noticed is that the functional complex of which the Monastery consists closely resembles the traditional fortified settlements of the Aegean. The location of the complex within the Aegean, however, does not preclude the possibility that it derived from known traditional, or new and innovative Byzantine models.

A second interesting feature is that although the present architectural complex is the result of a process of accumulation, it nevertheless retains intact, so to speak, the proportions of the magnitudes. More interestingly still, the stylistic unity of the buildings suggests the existence of a local school, if not neccesarily Patmian, at least Dodekanesian.

On the other hand, the Renaissance influences, and the evolution of forms of clearly Renaissance inspiration, occasionally reach a perfection approaching the classical. It should not be forgotten that the study of the architecture of the Monastery complex is illuminated by other, related subjects, such as the study of inscriptions, decoration, wood-carving, painting, and even the economy (trade, shipping), which are themselves in turn illuminated by the findings of architecture. The contribution made by the Monastery Archive is of great significance, its uninterrupted history enabling us to confirm hypotheses, clarify dates, detect influences and shed light on people and situations.

WALL PAINTINGS

After the architecture comes the monumental painting. The wall paintings discovered after the earthquakes of 1956 in the chapel of the Virgin and the refectory have broadened our knowledge of the periods and styles of monumental painting represented in the Monastery. With their individual character and acknowledged quality, they throw into relief the relations of Patmos with Constantinople and Jerusalem, discreetly remind us of the lost territories and the claims of the empire, stress the general principles of the Orthodox church through their iconographic programmes, and, in their own way, form the defences of Christian truth. The repertoire of the iconography, in addition to embracing the general principles of the Capital and the other Orthodox centres of the East, exhibits a number of individual features and innovations that in turn influenced the surrounding area and kept alive the presence of art in the Aegean.

The iconographic wealth of the Monastery, like its fortifications, acts as a defensive bulwark against incursions and heresies. The Monastery thus acquires the character of an advanced 'arsenal' at the intersection of the roads from the East, West and South, in the heart of an ancient Greek world that never ceased to fulfil its eternal mission. Many styles meet on Patmos, since many periods are represented in the iconography of the Monastery. In addition to Constantinople and Jerusalem – two very different Eastern centres – Patmos had artistic communications with mainland Greece, Sicily and the islands of the Aegean. Nor should it be thought that this influence always followed the same direction. In later periods, we find a strong Late Gothic influence in the painting, that is also to be found in miniature art. Crete, of course, should not be forgotten, and, through Crete, Venice, whose presence is strongly felt in the portable icons.

ICONS

The icon, which in the minds of many people is often identified with 'treasure', is a religious and artistic treasure that is easily moved, transported or sold, frequently changes owner and position, serves its purpose, deteriorates, vanishes. This type of treasure therefore becomes rarer the further back we go in the centuries of Byzantium, not only on Patmos, but throughout the whole of Greece; we encounter icons with increasing frequency, however, the moment we cross the threshold of the Frankish period, and more frequently still in the period of Turkish rule. It is not only the number of icons, which is not small, that is of importance, however, but their artistic merit; these objects give expression to trends and styles, whether known elsewhere or unknown, influences, whether clear or hidden, or barely distinguishable, new ideas and innovation, or conservatism and imitation; invariably, however, they are the expression of a people that lives and creates, and which gives birth to the artist or artists.

Naturally enough, the 15th century is a landmark in the history of the Greek icon, in Patmos as in other areas. This is the century in which the artistic creativity of the Cretan School, whose relations with Venice and Europe are familiar, made its presence strongly felt. 'We describe this period as fertile', writes M.Chatzidakis, 'because during the course of it, there crystallised in Crete not only the techniques, but also the styles, with their westernising variations, depending on the artistic preferences of the customer, and even a number of iconographic types'.

In the icons, as in the wall paintings, we can trace the routes followed by the artistic influences from the presence of the basic characteristic features. Here too, in addition to the wide avenue from Crete to Patmos, the route from Constantinople–Patmos–Mystras–central Greece is perceptible. Occasionally, indeed, the influence was decisive, since the type borrowed became predominant over a very wide area. There were certainly some icons made locally (though they do not approach in quality those of the great School), as is clear from the depiction in the background of the icons of familiar Patmian scenes, a phenomenon also found in the wall paintings, and often a valuable indication of the date.

Without doubt the iconographic wealth of Patmos (in the wall paintings, icons and miniatures), while not approaching the level of that of the Monastery on Sinai, or of Mount Athos, is one of the most important assemblages in the Orthodox East.

CHURCH GOLD EMBROIDERIES AND CHURCH SILVER

Within the churches in which the wall paintings, icons, iconostases and other architectural and artistic items are to be found, the divine worship is served by a number of objects used by the celebrant in the various rituals and mysteries: these items are large or small works of art, of metal, wood, cloth, enamel, ivory, glass and precious stones.

These sacred vessels and vestments are as numerous as the uses to which they were put, inside and outside the church. We may cite a few of the sacred vessels: flabella, censers, artophoria, communion vessels, the revetments of icons and Gospel books, reliquaries, etc. Sacred vestments, too, may be divided according to their use into liturgical (endyte, aer, epitaphios, veils to cover different vessels) and hierarchical vestments (omophoria, epitrachelia, epigonatia, epimanikia), and decorative hangings (pyle, podea, labara). All these works of art are today the object of study of the branches of knowledge concerned

with gold embroidery and church silver. It should be noted that this category of works of art is closely and directly related to iconography in general, for on their surfaces are depicted scenes from the Christian repertoire – invariably those related to their liturgical use, the purpose for which they were made, or the mystic and symbolic ramifications they might have in Orthodox worship.

The study of these objects opens up an entire artistic world that moves and acts within very broad artistic and geographical parameters. The quality and number of these church vessels and vestments is related to the economic prosperity of the community that uses them, or the importance of the religious centre to which they belong, but above all, to the faith of those who created, bought, donated or used them in the church service. In addition to all these aspects, they are also of interest to the local and general historian. The information that can be derived from the study of these works of art relates to the people that made them, the first buyers, those who donated or dedicated them, the people who inherited them, or their final recipients and present owners. We also learn of the ways in which they were acquired – that is, whether they were bought, or were the result of an alms mission, vow, dedication, donation, sale, auction, enforced sale, bankruptcy, or a pledge. The items bearing inscriptions reveal details of the workshops, and the known or unknown artists, and the place or places in which they worked; study also reveals the routes followed by the objects to arrive at their final destination. At the same time, the objects themselves yield evidence for the material used at different periods and in different areas (gold, silver, precious stones, silk, velvet). Where there is evidence that these objects were lost, we learn of the causes (time, deterioration, use, plunder, theft, payment of taxes, payment of ransom money, enforced sale to survive). The study of this entire range of ecclesiastical miniature art gives a picture of the intersecting styles, the influences, the owners' preferences and the renewing trends in ecclesiastical and secular artistic taste, similar to that offered by the monumental arts, which reflect rather the grandeur of the empire that could always be observed in divine worship.

The consideration of the masterpieces of church silver and gold-embroidered vestments also illuminates the Greek and European history of these two branches of art. Their chronological and geographical extent (Venice, Transylvania, Constantinople, Moscow, Georgia, Asia Minor, Smyrna, Crete, Cyprus, Greece) indicate that Patmos was an important centre in the southeast Aegean, from which extended radii, some small, some large, as though indicating the earlier boundaries of the Byzantine World. Over and above this generally useful information, however, we should not fail to note that this entire artistic world of creators, both named and anonymous, like the world of the donors, dedicators and users of these vessels and vestments for divine worship, did not approach them with the emotion evoked by art, but with the fear of God. Each individual used them to pray with faith, and to worship his God, and God rewarded his faith, according to the promises in the Gospels, and answered his prayers. And it is this mystic religious relationship, over and above their undisputed artistic value, that spreads warmth and supports Orthodoxy: one might even claim, in a bold generalisation, that it is itself Orthodoxy.

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

The art of miniature painting is today closer to the art-loving public, thanks to modern printing techniques; whether in the form of the illustrated book, or calendar, or simply of a colour print or slide, it is a more faithful record of the original, in terms both of the colours

and of the natural dimensions and details. At the same time, it offers boundless variations of decorative motifs and exercises a wide influence on the representational arts, acting as a channel by which traditional forms reach the modern trends in art.

Although the illustrated manuscripts of Patmos are, in general terms, representative examples of the kind preserved in the other rich libraries of the world, they nevertheless reveal to the scholar who studies them a number of unique examples of art, and original achievements, or at least forms, that do not occur elsewhere. In terms of the repertoire, there is nothing to add to what we already know from other manuscripts: it comprises, that is, representations of human figures and sacred scenes from the Old and the New Testaments, a wide range of floral and animal decoration, and artistic drawings of all kinds.

The study of this iconograpic material in general terms points to conclusions similar to those to which the study of the Patmos treasures in other chapters has led, with regard to our knowledge of the past and the general history of the region. It also assists us to clarify many other obscure points relating to dates, people and artistic trends in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art. In the miniature illustrations, that is to say, we can trace the routes connecting Patmos with other artistic centres, Constantinople, Jerusalem, cities in Asia Minor, mainland Greece, and the Arabic world. Furthermore, the dated manuscripts help to provide secure termini for the first appearance and the development of certain artistic types, trends and forms. Intermediate links, or even the first and last links, of a style can be noted. New creators are discovered, and it is possible to detect more clearly the relations that govern and interpret either the mere existence, or the proliferation of certain types of illustrated manuscripts, by reference to the economic situation and the artistic preferences of the owners, donors or foundations.

There are, moreover, some unique illustrated manuscripts on Patmos, like the Job (codex 171) or the Gregory the Theologian (codex 33), which was written and illustrated at Rhegium in Calabria in 941. Each of these constitutes an art treasure, not only because of its type, but because it is unique in the entire Eastern Mediterranean.

Parchment is a durable material, and this has helped to preserve a considerable number of examples of the artistic activities of the Byzantines, with the result that it is easier to make comparisons with the earliest forms of the same art. In the more recent periods, after paper came into general use, the art of miniature painting, though it continued to exist, was significantly affected both by the material used in the manuscripts and by the new artistic trends, which henceforth spread to wider regions, and at a swifter pace. When the study of the miniatures in the manuscripts of Patmos is completed, there will undoubtedly unfold before us a fine page of Byzantine art and of history.

THE LIBRARY AND THE ARCHIVE

The personality of the monastery libraries in the Orthodox East was formed with the passage of the centuries, and was based on the experience and the real needs of the monastic communities, not on the criteria used by the modern sciences of librarianship and archive studies. The sections now included in the Monastery Library are the manuscripts (the codices), the documents, which form the archive material, and the printed books.

Before the invention of printing, manuscripts acted as books. They had a number of special characteristics, however, owing to the way in which they were produced, which is true of all the important works produced by human hands. Morevoer, manuscripts

contained many messages, stories and theories that cannot be expressed by any other of man's creations. Thanks to this feature, manuscripts, more than any other artistic creation, influenced the behaviour of individuals, groups and peoples.

To produce a completed manuscript demanded time and money, and their cost was so high that they were not accessible to the majority, but only to a few individuals, or to organised state or church libraries.

The Patmos manuscripts are representative of every kind of Greek manuscript, both from the point of view of content and from the point of view of material, form, time of production, technique, and so forth. Some manuscripts are of special interest because they are unique examples of their kind, or because of their value. About one fifth of the parchment manuscripts are of artistic value and interest, but the rest of the manuscripts too, from their original form, are not without artistic interest, since a careful script and basic decoration are concepts closely interwoven with the Byzantine manuscript. The dated manuscripts possess a very specific value, since they pinpoint our knowledge in time with certainty, and can confirm the before and after of many of the questions of scholarship.

From the point of view of content, we may say that they cover almost the entire spectrum of human knowledge that is to be found in the important libraries in Greece and abroad; some of them are unique, in kind or in content, and are still the basic source for the scholarly editions of the texts they contain. In this situation, the study of the Patmos manuscripts naturally advances our knowledge in every area, either directly or indirectly, much more effectively than the study of other objects of art. Because of all these features, the Patmos manuscripts have become the object of extensive research by scholars of different specialities, especially in recent decades, and have made a fundamental contribution to the science of palaeography and related fields.

The documents form the Library archives. Though these, too, are not wanting in artistic importance, especially those emanating from the emperors, which were written by a special secretariat, their value really springs from their uniqueness and their content. The majority of them are dated, and they speak as primary sources on specific questions. Some of them – the Byzantine chrysobulls – bear the signature of the emperor himself. All of them are first class, direct sources, and take their name from the 'issuing agent' (emperor, civil servant, patriarch, church official, or private individual), which also determines their value and historical importance. The Monastery was usually the recipient of the particular documents, and their content is very varied: religious, economic, institutional. It would, of course, be an omission not to mention the category of documents that were drawn up in the Monastery (in situ) either by the abbot himself, or on his instructions, which contain regulations, or wills, or list the precious objects owned by the Monastery (those here called 'treasures'); these lists, in particular, are important sources of a wide range of information.

The documents are divided into groups, as we have seen, on the basis of their source; they can also be divided on the basis of their chronological period, language and content, into Byzantine, post-Byzantine, foreign-language documents, and so on. The post-Byzantine documents are an excellent source for the institutions of the period of Turkish rule, the customs, law, language, economy, and demographic problems, not only of Patmos and the surrounding area, but also of the wider region of the Aegean, the Mediterranean and the Balkans. Not all of them are of artistic interest; even in this sphere, however, there are some items of interest, such as the seals of gold, silver, lead or Spanish wax, the signatures of the emperors, and the menologia, the monokondylies and

the miniature paintings, mainly of the foreign documents. Their basic value, however, resides in their content, though they not infrequently also refer to works of art.

The importance of the printed books derives from man's great achievement, printing, which was to change the course of human history. The printed book, like all the other achievements of the human spirit, did not immediately displace the manuscript. Initially, they even coexisted for a considerable time. Later, however, the circles reached by the printed book, and consequently the men to whom its content was directed and whom it influenced, grew steadily greater. New ideas began to prevail that were channelled by the intellectual sources through books. The church, firstly, because of its mission, used the book to channel its teaching to the free, and sometimes also to the enslaved Christian world; the teachers of Hellenism used it to spread the messages of education, together with the basic elements of language; and through it, the Enlightened of Europe disseminated the new ideas about man, the state, society and freedom. The thousands of printed books preserved in the Monastery Library, whatever their source, speak a complex language. They do not merely reveal their content, which in any event is more often than not already known from the mansucripts, but also speak to us of the first users, and their interests, play host to their thoughts in the form of notes, record the bearers, the movement and the routes taken by the printed book, register the presses, the value, the editors, the funders. Finally, they make clear the desire of some to form libraries.

In this light, the interest of the Library ceases to be merely factual or statistical. It is not of interest to learn, that is, how many editions by Aldos Manoutios it possesses, how many incunabula, or first or early editions, data that are of interest to the collectors of early editions; what we look for in the pages of the printed books is complex information, of the type we derive from the other treasures, concerning the men who were members of the monastic community, who struggled, and who suffered, not only to hold aloft the torch of the Orthodox church and of Hellenism in the Aegean for nine continuous centuries, but to leave their indelible mark on their fortunes.

The presentation of this volume to the general public, in commemoration of the 900 years of the Monastery on Patmos, is made in the conviction that we are advancing research in each of the fields dealt with by the relevant chapters. We also believe that we are making it easier for many to gain access to the priceless artistic values of Hellenism and Orthodoxy.

ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

The impressive features of the architecture of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, as it appears today, are its harmonious relationship to the natural and the built environment (fig. 1), its continuity and its links with history: with the passage of time, the construction, conversion, repair and change of use of the buildings, instigated by many people and alternating between work of a simple, functional nature, and work with some artistic pretensions, have, over the 900 years of the monastery's life, given it a unique architectural character. This dynamic building history, of which we are informed in part by inscriptions and other evidence, combined with the equally unique role played by the monastery for nine centuries in the Greek archipelago, lend a particular interest to the study of its architecture.

Research into the subject began in the '60s, with the publication of three important studies: Anastasios Orlandos,[1] in one of his most important works, examined the entire building complex, in conjunction with the Byzantine wall-paintings. He focused his attention on the first period of its building history, the Byzantine period, and analysed the buildings that belonged to it. Kanto Fatourou had long before published the finest of the monastery's chapels,[2] and together with Stelios Papadopoulos, produced a separate volume[3] containing the inscriptions, which are valuable material for the historical interpretation of many of the monuments.

There is, however, great scope for investigation of the architecture of the Monastery of the Theologian, with the aims of assigning dates to all the buildings in the complex, identifying their functions, and reconstructing them as they were at the various periods of their life. For a significant number of the functional buildings at the heart of the complex, indeed, we do not even have a basic documentation or description. And the situation is much worse in the case of several parts of the monastery that were demolished in the period 1957-1961, either in order to be restored and strengthened, or to make way for modern buildings.

An understanding and interpretation of the monastery as a whole is thus not attainable at present. The labyrinth of corridors and rooms (drawing 1), set, moreover, at different levels, gives the impression of a particularly effective functional network, not very different from that of the fortified 'traditional' settlements in the Aegean.[4] The fact that from an early date it was an idiorrhythmic rather than a coenobitic monastery[5] undoubtedly played a role in this. There is no direct evidence that the complex is really functional, however, and the end-product of the 'accumulative process'[6] (through which even the larger buildings, which were the product of design, were subordinated to the complex as a whole) cannot properly be understood without a fuller analysis and more accurate dating of all the parts of the monastery.

From the outside the monastery dominates the settlement of Chora around it, seemingly inaccessible and majestic (fig. 2). Its pronounced resemblance to a fortress[7] (fig. 4), the

natural elevation of the terrain on which it stands, and above all its proportions, combine to produce this remarkable impression of power, reflecting the role of ruler and protector played by the monastery for centuries on the island of Patmos, and clearly demonstrating that it was the centre of the life of the settlement[1] from which all of this stemmed. Just as imposing as any cathedral in the medieval settlements of Western Europe, the Monastery of the Theologian sets its seal on the character of the entire island (fig. 3).

THE BYZANTINE BUILDING PROGRAMMES

In the first period of the monastery's existence, two main building programmes can be distinguished: the original programme, which was directly connected with the founder, Hosios Christodoulos, and that of the 12th century. The dates for this period are fairly secure and derive on the one hand from a combination of documentary evidence, and on the other from the approximate dates assigned to the wall-paintings, based on stylistic data.[2] It is regarded as certain[3] that the katholikon, the cistern beneath it, the refectory, in its first, wood-roofed form, a number of cells preserved in the south wing, and a large part of the walls, were erected in the period 1088-1093, before the death of the founder. The 12th century saw the erection of the narthex of the katholikon,[4] the remodelling of the refectory, and the construction of the chapel of the Virgin and perhaps that of Hosios Christodoulos. It is also possible that the exonarthex was included in this programme.

As we have noted, however, many of the details, even of the Byzantine period of the monastery, have not been adequately studied: for the cistern, we do not have even the basic drawings,[5] the dating of the cells in the south wing is not sure,[6] and in the case of the walls, no-one can yet say which sections belong to the walls mentioned in the documents[7] and which belong to repairs, whether early or recent.[8]

The architecture of the katholikon, at least, exhibits some clear imperfections and peculiarities that are associated with poverty and provincialism. With the exception of a certain organisational competence in the modelling of the subterranean cistern,[9] the church building itself does not stand comparison with those contemporary with it in Constantinople and Greece.

First of all, the katholikon does not stand free in the centre of the courtyard, as is the rule in Orthodox monasteries,[10] but is almost entirely surrounded by annexes and outbuildings. The simple tetrastyle variant of the domed cross-in-square type of church to which the monument belongs,[11] is unknown in the Capital and very unusual in Greece; the majority of the examples of it are to be found in Crete,[12] an island that had no architectural tradition at this date. Its particular combination of typological peculiarities, however, make the katholikon of the Theologian unique amongst Byzantine churches: the niches of the bema are inscribed in the thickness of the east wall, and there are no pilasters separating them. In the eastern part of the church, though the arm of the cross is certainly traced,[13] the bays in the corners rise to such a height that the vaults intersect each other. In the western section, the same principle of elevating the barrel-vaults of the corner bays is applied, with the result that the vault of the arm cannot be detected; in its place there is a cross-vault of Roman type. In all the corner bays the vaults are orientated transversely rather than longitudinally, a rare phenomenon.[14] Originally, there was no narthex, despite the fact that it was a monastery church.

All of this raises questions as to the intentions of Hosios Christodoulos. Does it represent

a deliberate rejection of the articulation of interior space in the cross-in-square church tried and tested in countless 11th century examples? Was it due to technical incompetence, or improvisation by unskilled worksmen, or was it (as Orlandos believed)[1] an attempt to create a single, accessible flat terrace above the vaulting?

The formal and structural peculiarities of the church under examination, point rather to the second hypothesis. The dome, circular in plan and with no exterior articulation, recalls obsolete ancient models.[2] The masonry, as far as one can tell, is of simple rubble construction with no artistic pretensions. Of the interior columns, two, at least, are built and plastered[3] and all of them have rough, undecorated, tectonic capitals. Finally, the sculptures incorporated into the katholikon are all *spolia*; none of them seems to have been carved especially for it. The only finely-worked architectural feature of the church is the marble floor (fig. 17),[4] though the close technical and stylistic similarity between it and the floor of the chapel of the Virgin[5] might suggest that it, too, was laid at a later date, in the 12th century.

The katholikon, then, the building dedicated by the founder to the Theologian, was an unpretentious structure, austere, relatively poor, adorned with sculptures that were all in second use, and perhaps constructed by workmen with limited[6] horizons and abilities.[7] The emphasis placed in the Hosios' documents on the construction of the walls, rather than of the katholikon, confirms the views already expressed[8] about the realism of the founder.

Similar observations could be made about the original form of the refectory. It was an austere building with a wooden roof[9] and inferior masonry, over the east wall, built in contact with the katholikon,[10] and did not even have the usual semi-circular niche for the abbot's seat.[11]

The works of the 12th century reveal a desire to improve the buildings erected as part of the hasty, rather poor, first programme, and were executed in a skilful manner that attests to certain artistic pretensions: The refectory was vaulted (fig. 21) and also acquired a dome. The chapel of the Virgin (fig. 20), like the narthex, housed a larger number of monks, but was enriched by the addition of a propylon carried on columns that dominated the secondary courtyard of the monastery (fig. 23). It would not be too bold to suggest that all these works of the 12th century were due to the same master craftsman: they are all characterised by slightly pointed arches and vaults (completely unexpected at so early a period),[12] and by the unusual system employed to support the vaults, in which the columns or pillars are set in contact with the side walls. The result is effective, not only in terms of statics, but also from an aesthetic point of view, since the impression created by the interior space gains from the supports and arches that articulate the surfaces at the sides.

Returning to the question of the re-use of earlier architectural members in the two building programmes of the first period, we may note that they did not come from a single source, but originally belonged to buildings of different sizes[13] and periods. Some pieces[14] are of interest in their own right, and are worth studying for their own sake: above the Royal Door is preserved a massive section of a middle Byzantine door-frame,[15] carved with mouldings and a relief Greek cross set on its axis. A marble block that was dressed and incorporated into the threshold of the side entrance to the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos from the narthex, is decorated with an egg-and-dart pattern of excellent Classical or Hellenistic art, and exceptionally well-preserved: it was probably part of a cornice.[16] Finally, in the refectory, a fairly small pulpit[17] was broken up[18] and re-used partly for the revetment of one of the tables[19] and partly in the reader's lectern.[20]

A number of characteristic similarities[21] between the stylobate of the iconostasis in the

katholikon and that in the chapel of the Virgin, both preserved *in situ*, suggest that the two belong (like pavings of the floors) to the 12th century building programme. Unfortunately the surviving marble members that could have been part of an iconostasis[1] are too few to permit any hypotheses as to the form these might have taken. In the field of middle Byzantine decorative sculpture, however, there are two other works of historical interest: the sarcophagus of Hosios Christodoulos[2] (fig. 18) and the tombstone of an otherwise unknown *protospatharios*[3] (fig. 22) who appears to have been interred in the monastery.

THE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE FACADE OF THE KATHOLIKON

The chapel of Hosios Christodoulos at the south-west corner of the katholikon was assigned above, somewhat provisionally, to the 12th century programme. Orlandos,[4] mainly on the basis of the blind dome, adjudged it to be a work of the Turkish period, from the 15th or 16th centuries, but certain indications lead us to date it to the same phase as the narthex of the church and the chapel of the Virgin. Two, at least, of its sides belong to these monuments, and there are no obvious joints between them. The marble floor of the chapel[5] and the stylobate of an earlier iconostasis, also of marble,[6] clearly do not date from the Turkish period, and are similar in every way to those of the katholikon and the Virgin. The south door in the facade of the narthex precludes the possibility that there was an arcosolium, or that the sarcophagus was originally placed there, as has been supposed. Moreover, the chapel of the saint belongs to a type of small church widely found in the Byzantine world,[7] and a precedent could already be found[8] in other famous monasteries for the erection of a separate domed chapel to house the remains of the founder-Hosios, for reasons of prestige.

In the case of the exonarthex of the katholikon, or rather of the open arcaded stoa in front of the narthex (fig. 12), a number of questions relating to its date and original form remain unanswered. Occupying a central position in the main courtyard of the monastery, and constructed for the most part of Early Christian spolia,[9] the stoa has a striking variety of detail, and a distinctive charm and picturesque lack of symmetry. These are due to the use of ancient material, and also to the attempt to build on a human scale, with a deliberate rejection of the monumental. This can be seen clearly when the exonarthex is compared with the later arcade from the end of the 17th century (fig. 11) running parallel with it, which was the product of architectural planning and has an air of solidity and regularity. Compared with it, the stoa of the exonarthex seems badly traced, some of the columns deviating from the vertical, and rather fragile, having a large number of wooden tie-beams, of rather doubtful effectiveness.

This exceptional monument was almost overlooked by Orlandos,[10] who described it as a work of the 19th century.[11] As we shall see, however, there is secure evidence for it about 1600, since it appears in a series of pictures dating from this period. Furthermore, the wall-paintings adorning it (apart from those on the east side, which are genuinely modern)[12] may be assigned to the 17th century,[13] and at a number of points where the frescoes have fallen from the vaults[14] an even earlier layer can be seen, with decorative motifs.

The difficult[15] question of the date of the original construction of the exonarthex cannot be answered here, however. We may simply note: a) the clear similarity, in terms of proportions and structure, between the pointed arches of the exonarthex and those of the chapel of the Virgin and the refectory; b) that no spolia from the middle or late Byzantine

periods were incorporated in it; and c) that open exonarthexes with an arcade, like that under examination, were common in the 12th century, particularly in Greek lands.[1]

A sketch by the famous Russian pilgrim Basil Barskij[2] allows us to identify the changes made to the exonarthex between 1731 and the present day: the northernmost arch has been demolished and reconstructed with a much smaller span[3] and the northern entrance to the esonarthex closed off, the small dome of the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos has been concealed by a low wall, and the wall with seven openings and battlements at the level of the upper floor has been demolished. These drastic modifications, which have greatly altered the appearance of the monument, will be discussed below.

The above data enable us better to understand the representations of the katholikon in the form of the model that Hosios Christodoulos is shown offering to the Theologian (see Icons, fig. 52). The significance of these paintings for the study of the facade of the katholikon was first noted by Manolis Chatzidakis,[4] who also published them;[5] they include icons, bema doors and a triptych.

There is no doubt that depictions of architectural works by Byzantine or post-Byzantine painters are of limited value[6] since they invariably treat the object depicted in an abstract[7] and stylized manner. However, in the case of the katholikon of the Theologian, we have a number of details that confirm that about 1600 the exonarthex not only existed, but was regarded as being ancient, dating from the period of the founder. The depictions show the three arches that correspond to the width of the church, the three doors, the spiral flutings on one of the columns,[8] the wooden tie-beams,[9] the small pilasters between the arches on the upward extension of the columns[10] and the circular dome behind. They also depict a number of features that were later demolished: a kind of stoa at first floor level with double colonnettes,[11] through the arches of which can be discerned windows with pointed arches, and also the pitched roof that covered the exonarthex and was formed above the stoa, perhaps with the intervention of an open corridor.[12] Of all the details portrayed, only the battlements were probably constructed at a late period.

For a very long interval, from the end of the 12th to the middle of the 16th century, we have no specific evidence, either direct or indirect, for building work at the Monastery of the Theologian. Historical circumstances possibly account for this abatement in architectural activity, though it is certain that building work of lesser importance never ceased to be carried out at the monastery, as part of the dynamic process of renewal of the functional buildings.[13]

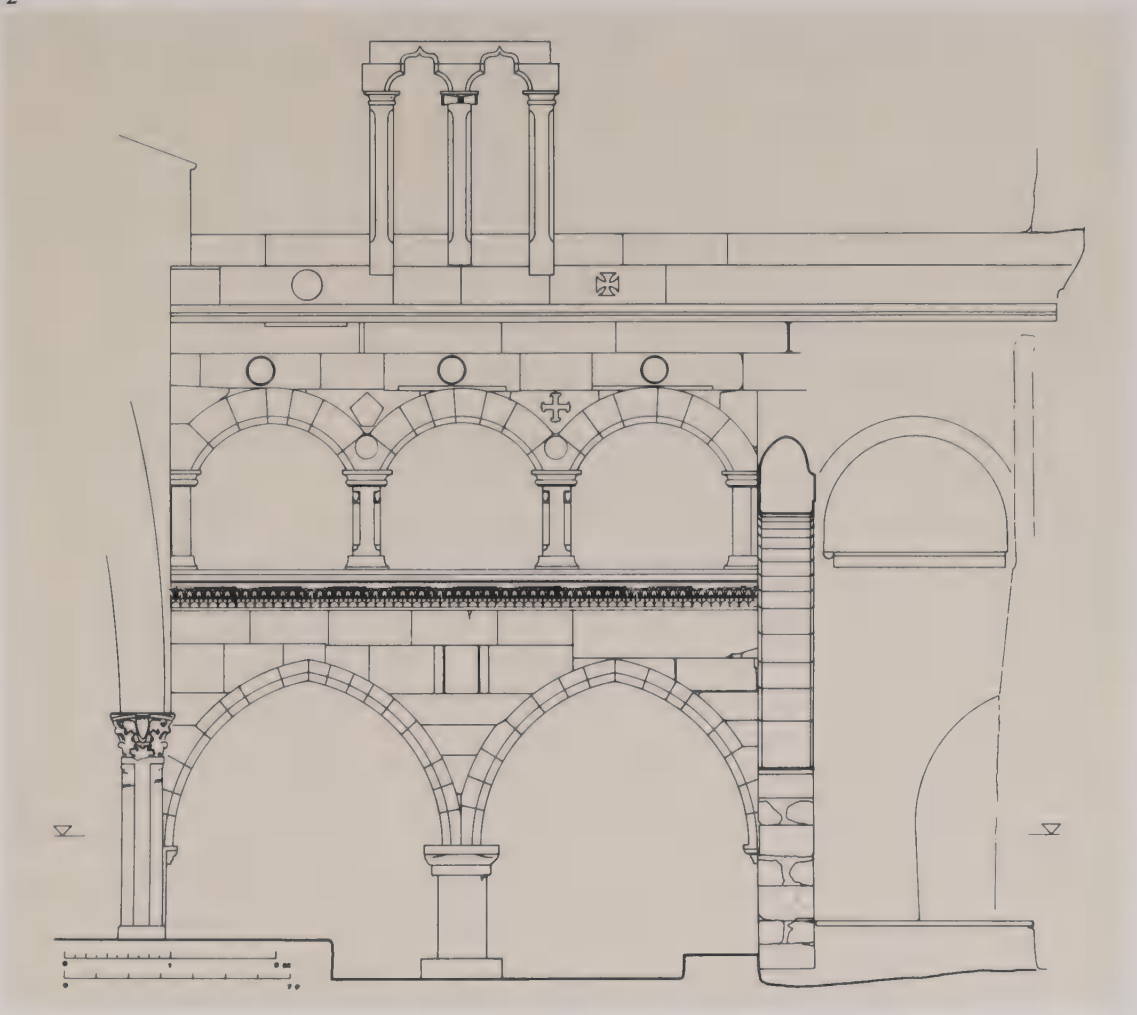
THE POST-BYZANTINE BUILDING PROGRAMMES

In the 16th century, after the consolidation of Turkish power in the Aegean and the end of the war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire (1540), Patmos gradually entered a period of prosperity, based on ships and seaborne trade. The Monastery of the Theologian, with the privileges it enjoyed, shared in this economic activity. Consequently, both Chora and the monastery enjoyed a period of great economic well-being until about 1700, and acquired some notable new buildings. The inscriptions that accompany these buildings in the monastery permit us, if not to date them, at least to learn something of their donors, who were mostly important, well-known figures, and also to relate the structures to the general conditions prevailing during this period.

The lintel of a cell to the west of the main courtyard,[14] on the third floor, preserves the

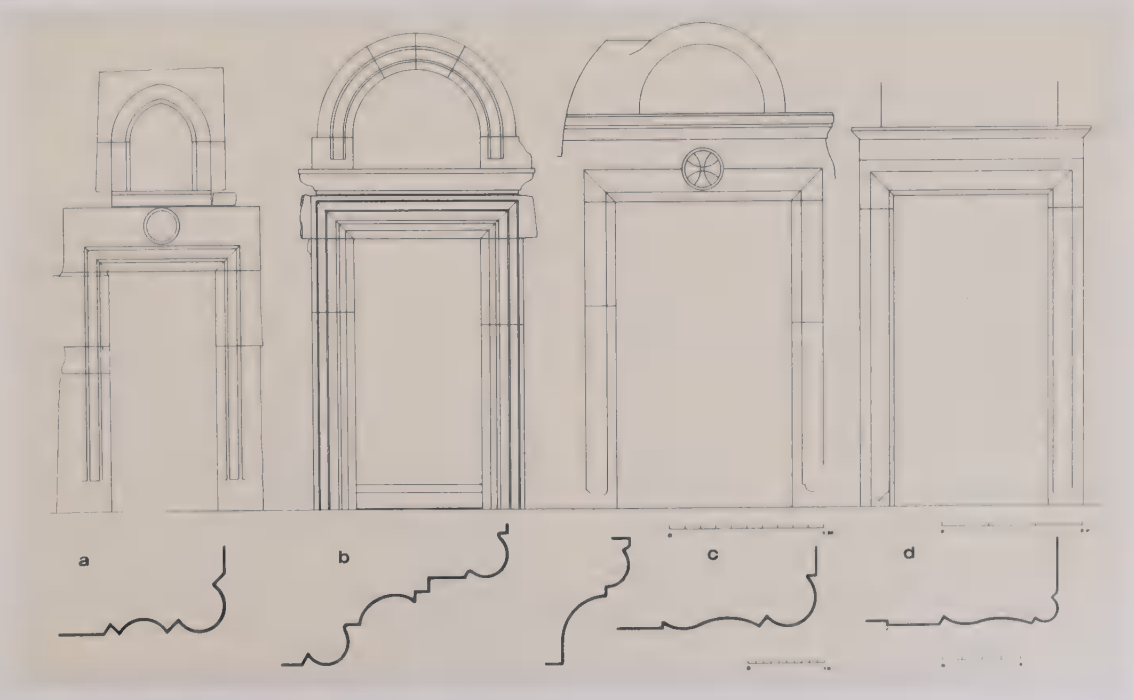
1

2



Drawing 1
Plan of the Monastery.
1. Chapel of St. Onouphrios.
2. Chapel of the Holy Apostles.
3. Main entrance.
4. Main courtyard.
5. Katholikon.
6. Chapel of the Virgin.
7. Chapel of Hosios Christodoulos.
8. Chapel of St. Nicholas.
9. Refectory.
10. Storeroom inside the east tower.
11. Kitchen.
12. Mill.
13. Cells in the south wing.
14. Chapel of Ayioi Pantes.
15. Portico, the so-called 'tzaphara'.
16. Chapel of the Holy Cross (on the flat roof).
17. Kneading room.
18. Oven.
19. Cell of Father Nikodemos.
20. Cell of Father Anthimos.
(In producing this drawing of the plan, details were used from books by A.K.Orlandos and K.Fatourou, and also the measured drawings of D.O.Katsaris, made in 1955.)

3



Drawing 2
The two-storey portico, or 'tzaphara', on the south side of the main courtyard.

Drawing 3
Four door-frames from the Monastery: a) from the Chapel of St. John the Baptist: b) from the Chapel of the Holy Apostles; c) between the main and the secondary courtyards, dating from 1738 and d) between the katholikon and the Chapel of the Virgin, probably dating from 1745.

earliest inscription from this period, dating from 1556. One of the finest chapels, of the Holy Cross[1] (fig. 24), was probably built in 1598, and three years later there was a serious effort to strengthen the walls by the construction of the eastern escarpment[2] (fig. 5). No donors are attested. In 1603, Nikephoros of Crete, Abbot of the monastery and later Bishop of Laodicea,[3] and a person of distinguished educational attainments, built the chapel of the Holy Apostles[4] (fig. 6) at the entrance to the complex – a small church, but representative of the architecture of the period. The wood-carved iconostasis in the chapel was comptemporary with it, like that in the chapel of the Virgin,[5] dating from 1607 (figs. 19 and 20). We shall return to both later.

In 1611, Parthenios Pangostas, founder of the famous Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi on Patmos, built a chapel[6] to the memory of Saint Onouphrios, also near the entrance. His name is also connected with yet another chapel, that of John the Baptist,[7] built before the year 1605. Shortly afterwards,[8] the works instigated by Nikephoros of Crete were brought to completion by the construction of the sacristy, attached to the katholikon, with a view to housing in it the books bequeathed by him to the monastery.[9] After the earthquake of 1646, there was further work designed to strengthen the walls: the large escarpment that encircles the entire north-east corner of the monastery was constructed at the expense of a local resident, Nikolaos Mathas.[10] To the same period probably belongs the chapel of Saint Basil[11] on the flat roof, built in contact with the north wall. The wall-paintings, and especially the graffiti[12] in this are of great interest.

There followed a difficult period: the plundering of Patmos, the fall of Crete, a wave of refugees in Chora, and an economic crisis after 1671. Already in 1677, however, the monastery was in a position to construct yet another escarpment[13] to strengthen the walls. During the last decade of the century, finally, a major building programme was carried out, associated with the name of Neophytos Grimanis,[14] Archbishop of Karpathos, who was dubbed the 'new founder'[15] for his generosity. It was this programme that gave the Monastery of the Theologian its final form, which is roughly the one we have today.

As well as another escarpment[16] for the walls (1700), this programme included the addition of a second exonarthex to the katholikon[17] (fig. 10), the remodelling of the main courtyard[18] (figs. 7 and 8) and the erection of an unusual stoa with two storeys, known as the *tzaphara*[19] (1698), which is a dominating feature of this courtyard (fig. 9). A number of structural details[20] seem likely to have been part of this series, and to have been completed in a short period of time.

This impressive group of architectural works, covering 150 years, is notable for its artistic pretensions and stylistic unity. Apart from the escarpments[21] of the defensive enceinte, they were works that were designed not to meet the needs of daily life but to fulfil the donors' desire to bestow something upon the monastery that had some artistic claims. Like the hundreds of portable votive objects,[22] they attest directly to the relations of mutual prestige between the monastery and the donors, both those from Patmos and those from the wider world of Orthodoxy. Education and continuous contact with the outside world meant that the society from which the donors sprang showed a lively interest in art, and was capable of judging its quality.

The stylistic unity is due to the existence of a local 'school' of craftsmen and the use of a particular building material. It is immediately obvious that the 'school' was not a Patmian one, as has been strongly asserted,[23] but a Dodekanesian school with its headquarters on Rhodes.

The style is the architectural idiom created on Rhodes in imitation of the official Late

Gothic style there, and used in dozens of buildings, both before and after the departure of the knights in 1522. This idiom, the hallmarks of which were its Late Gothic formal features, the general use of stone carving, and the design that was a necessary precondition for it, spread to the neighbouring islands where it was unusually long-lived[1] and very productive. Similar examples of the rise to prominence of a local, westernizing style under the Turks can be observed on Chios[2] and Crete.

It is not a Patmian style, however. It is tempting to believe that the Patmians were not distinguished craftsmen. We know for certain that Parthenios' chief craftsman, Mastrostephanis,[3] was a Rhodian; that the craftsman who worked on the stoa called the *tzaphara*, Daniel, son of Georgios, was also a Rhodian;[4] and that Manuel, who mounted the north escarpment, came from Kos.[5] Only one reference to a local craftsman has survived (in the *Brevium*) while, in contrast, several other non-local craftsmen are known.[6]

The characteristic features of this local 'school' and the Monastery buildings associated with it are: a) the selective use of forms from the Late Gothic repertoire (ribs, mouldings, door- and window-frames,[7] the bevelling of the corners in pillars and arches, plain or crenellated battlements, pointed and depressed arches, flat arches, occasionally with a pointed element in the middle, free arches with the form of buttresses),[8] and also the adoption of some Turkish elements (row of stalactites,[9] cf. drawing 2, rose-type rosettes;[10] b) a particular system of proportions; and c) the excellent stone carving (working of the natural building material, limitation of the thickness of the joints, vaulting made of stone). The local grey andesite,[11] known as 'Manolakas' stone', proved to be an excellent substitute for the Rhodian poros, to which it has similar properties.

It has been asserted, again very emphatically,[12] that the brilliant proportions and formal clarity of one of the monastery chapels, that of the Holy Apostles (1603), are an echo of contemporary Renaissance architectural ideas. This, too, may be disputed.[13] It is simply that the local style reached in this structure a perfection approaching the classical.

To this same period, 1550-1700, belong a number of excellent wood-carved iconostases that adorned the monastery: that in the katholikon,[14] now in the church of Saint George of Aporthiana in Chora, and those in the chapels of the Virgin,[15] the Holy Apostles,[16] Hosios Christodoulos[17] and others.[18] All of them are of Cretan origin,[19] have a combination of carved and painted decoration, are adorned with precious icons, and go back to the twenty five years after 1600. The decoration here, in complete contrast with the architecture, is mainly Renaissance in its morphology, the new ideas and new forms having spread to Crete from Venice.

The period from 1700 to the end of the Greek War of Independence is not marked by any important works in the Monastery of the Theologian, despite the general economic well-being enjoyed by both the monastery itself[20] and the island as a whole. Alterations will no doubt have been made to meet particular needs, and one of these can be detected: the facade wall at the first floor of the katholikon (the one crowned with battlements, and having seven openings) was demolished and reconstructed (probably in 1802) in its present form, two metres further west – that is, above the arcade of the exonarthex. This created the spacious hall of the old library.[21] The evidence relating to the inscriptions of the library is still unclear.[22]

The chapter-house, an unpretentious building, was erected at the beginning of last century, in 1806, at the expense of Nektarios, Bishop of Sardis. Two ancient-style inscriptions[23] testify to this. Some modifications (which have already been discussed) were made to the exonarthex, and the three doors (two leading to the esonarthex and one to the

chapel of Hosios Christodoulos) were adorned with new, finely-carved frames[1] (figs. 13 and 14). Ottoman decorative motifs (such as stalactites on the small doors and rose-type rosettes on the large) are mingled with motifs drawn from western art (vines with naturalistic leaves growing from small vases at the bottom), and this, and even more so the character the marble frames themselves, make them typical of the Turkish decorative baroque of the 18th century, which was very widespread in Greece.[2] To this same group of works should be assigned the wooden door-leaves[3] on these same entrances, and also the carved wooden sheathing applied to the earlier tie-beams[4] inside the church.

In 1820, again at the expense of Nektarios of Sardis,[5] the heavy, gilded, wood-carved iconostasis was constructed in the katholikon (fig. 15). It had a vast number of carved scenes (fig. 16) and icons, and was perhaps the last serious work in the monastery.

During the period 1700-1830 it is also possible to detect, in a few works, the now steady decline of the local style and stone carving. The frame of the doorway between the main courtyard and the courtyard of the refectory,[6] of 1738; the door between the katholikon and the chapel of the Virgin,[7] probably of 1745; and a well-cover in front of the Holy Apostles,[8] all clearly reveal a departure from the models in their moderate proportions and flat mouldings (drawing 3).

MODIFICATIONS AND MODERN BUILDINGS IN THE MONASTERY COMPLEX

During the period from the Greek War of Independence to the present day, the monastery's activities have been in decline, despite the economic well-being of Patmos (at least up to the end of the century), and the beginnings of scholarly interest. The monastery did not become acquainted with the architecture of Classicism, like the settlement of Chora.[9] The erection of new buildings almost came to a halt, and the various structures of a functional nature no longer have the earlier picturesque quality. A number of published photographs reveal the advancing degeneration of the complex, through white-washing,[10] the erection of parasitic structures,[11] minor collapses,[12] the attaching of pipes to the buildings, and the like. The earthquake of 1956 seems to have caused considerable damage, both to the walls and to the buildings within the monastery complex.

The works of the period 1957-1964 wrote the final chapter in the building history of the Monastery of the Theologian. This was a drastic, large-scale programme carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodekanese[13] in collaboration with the Directorate of Restoration of the Ministry of Education, and funded by the Greek State; it included work of reinforcement and repair, and various forms of embellishment, and also large-scale restoration and the construction of a large, four-storey, modern building to house the treasury, library, museum and guest-rooms. This last provided the solution to enormous practical difficulties, but involved the demolition of a number of buildings on the west side of the monastery, of unknown form and age.

Unhappily, no detailed account of this major programme has been published, despite announcements of publication;[14] the references in the reports published in periodicals[15] are very brief, as is the mention in Orlandos' study of the monastery.[16] As has already been noted,[17] the building and other works carried out between 1957 and 1964 will create serious problems for future research into the architecture of the monastery, since they have produced uncertainty as to the authenticity of many parts of it, and also as to the form of

those parts that have not been preserved – problems that could perhaps be moderated by systematic research in the archives.[1]

This brief account has revealed the variety of architectural expression in the monastery of the Theologian, and the richness of the built shell of a monastic life uninterrupted for nine centuries. Few monuments in Greece exhibit the variety of style, corresponding with the continuity of life, that we have in Patmos. Since it houses a wonderful collection of movable treasures, the monastery complex also has a specific functional value, over and above its artistic and historical worth.

As a result of all this, and also because of its intellectual influence, the monastery of Patmos is unique: A presence, a religious centre set in the Aegean and still flourishing, a treasure-chest of the Byzantine and modern Greek Orthodox tradition.

1. The settlement of Chora on Patmos and the Monastery of St. John the Theologian from the north-west.

2. The Monastery from the north-east. →

4

5

4. The Monastery of St. John the Theologian. The large escarpment on the south side and a machicolation above the small gate.

5. The tower and escarpments on the east side of the Monastery.

6

6. The small church of the Holy Apostles outside the gate of the Monastery. View from the south-west.

3. The south side of the Monastery and part of the settlement of Chora.

7

7. Part of the main courtyard of the Monastery. View from above.

8

8. The arches-buttresses above the main courtyard of the Monastery. View from above, with the campanile of the 'tzaphara' in the background.

9. The 'tzaphara', or two-storey portico on the south side of the main courtyard of the Monastery.

10

11

12

12. View of the exonarthex of the katholikon from the north-west.

10. Pillars and arches of the portico in front of the katholikon of the Monastery.

11. The arcades of the exonarthex and the portico. View from the katholikon.

13. The entrance to the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos.

14

14. The main entrance to the narthex of the katholikon.

15. The interior of the katholikon, with the wood-carved iconostasis of 1820.

16

17

16. Detail of the lower part of the iconostasis in the katholikon.

17. Detail of the paving and marble-inlaid floor of the katholikon.

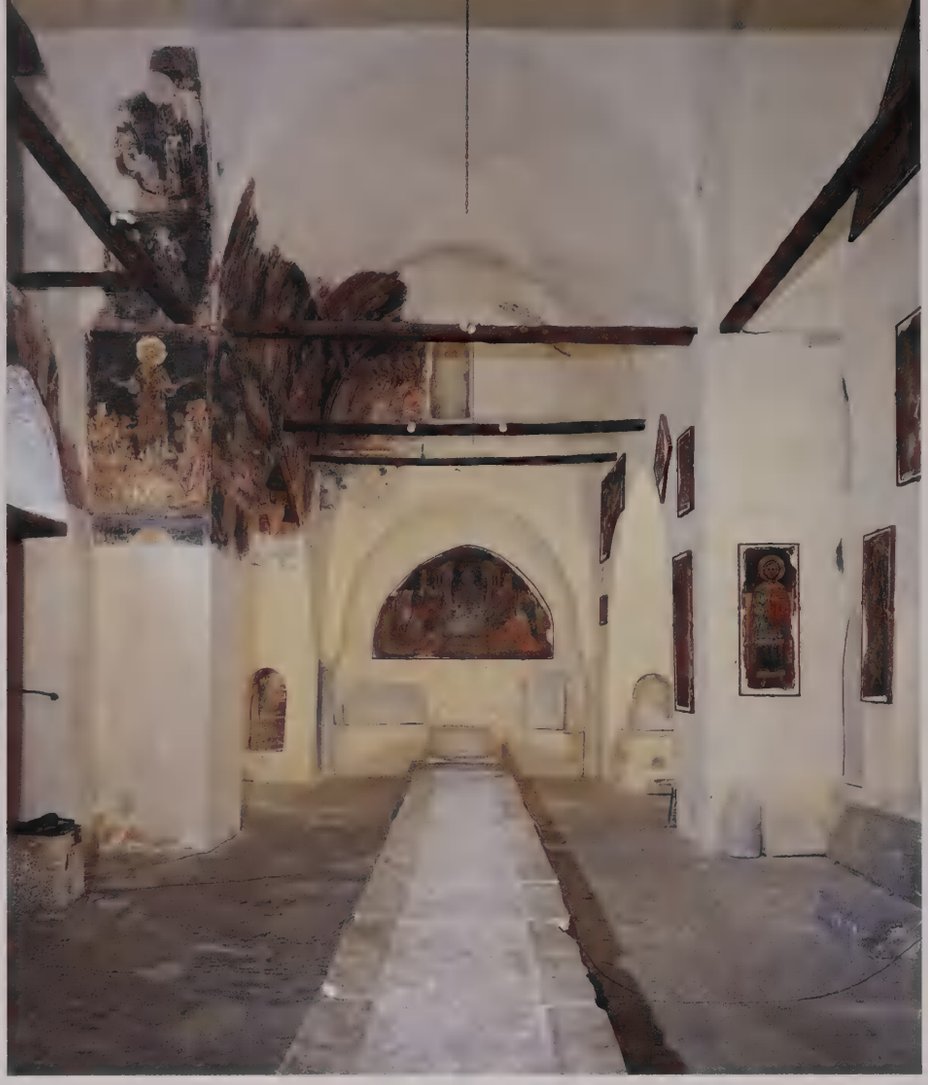
18

18. The interior of the Chapel of Hosios Christodoulos, with the wood-carved iconostasis to the left and the marble sarcophagus of the Hosios to the right, below a modern, wood-carved ciborium.

19

19. Detail of the cornice of the wood-carved iconostasis in the Chapel of the Virgin.

20. The interior of the Chapel of the Virgin.



21

22

24

21. The interior of the Refectory, looking north.

22. The stone slab of the sarcophagus of the protospatharios, now in the refectory.

23

23. The south facade of the Chapel of the Virgin with the two columns of the propylon. At the bottom right is the mouth of the cistern.

24. The Chapel of the Holy Cross and the flat roofs of the Monastery, looking east.

WALL PAINTINGS

WALL PAINTINGS

During the last twelve years of the 11th century a unique state was founded on Patmos: the monastery of Saint John the Theologian. Its founder, Christodoulos of Latros, was granted the island exempt from any obligation to pay taxes, according to a chrysobull[1] issued in April, 1088, by the Emperor of Byzantium Alexios I Comnenos. '...Over which (Patmos) I walked', wrote Nikolaos Tzanzis, the Recorder of the Cyclades, in the protocol by which it was handed over, in August 1088, 'and found it to be all desolate and laid waste, and darkened with thorns and other litter, and untrodden and, on account of the absence of water in the place entirely unhabitable'.[2] Before this event, Christendom was aware of Patmos only as the place to which Saint John the Theologian was exiled and where, at the end of the 1st century A.D., he probably wrote his Gospel and the Book of Revelation. After February or May of 1089,[3] Christodoulos began to build his monastery, the centre of a small state that included, besides Patmos, the tiny neighbouring islands of Leipso and Arkioi and large estates on the island of Leros.[4]

On the site on which the monastery now stands, Nikolaos Tzanzis saw and recorded the ruins of an Early Christian basilica, and on top of it 'a poor chapel, built in the name of the esteemed Theologian'. We do not know how much Hosios Christodoulos managed to build in the few years that he stayed on Patmos, though he certainly did not complete the work he had planned. He himself states this quite clearly in his 'Secret Testament': 'Having formerly begun a castle, I raised it as high as I could, leaving it unfinished...'[5]

It is doubtful whether Christodoulos even succeeded in building, or at least in completing, the katholikon, as his first biographer, John of Rhodes asserts[6] (the life was written after 1118 and before 1143); John's view was accepted by A.Orlandos,[7] who dates the katholikon to about 1090, but not by M.Chatzidakis.[8] It was left, then, to the generations that followed Christodoulos, especially those of the 12th and 13th centuries, to bring his task to completion.

Two Byzantine painting ensembles are partly preserved in the monastery: the fairly complete wall paintings in the chapel of the Virgin, and those of the refectory, where about half the original paintings survive. The katholikon, too, was very probably adorned with frescoes at the same period. The present painted decoration of this building, however, is post-Byzantine, as we shall see below. About fifteen years ago, remnants came to light of the Byzantine wall paintings in the Cave of the Revelation, to the north of the monastery and below the settlement of Chora.

THE KATHOLIKON AND THE CHAPEL OF HOSIOS CHRISTODOULOS

From the encomium to the founder of the monastery written by Athanasios of Antioch[9] aboout 1150, it appears that, in the middle of the 12th century, the katholikon may have

been decorated with wall paintings. 'A church of astonishing beauty, here ablaze with the brilliance of its marbles, there lit up with the golden flashing of its holy icons'.[1] A small example of the Byzantine frescoes may be seen in the painted decoration on the pilasters of the south door leading to the chapel of the Virgin, and of another door, now sealed to the north – the entrance to the 'outer sacristy'. Today, all the interior surfaces of the katholikon – dome, vaults and walls – are covered with paintings from about 1600.

The semi-dome of the Sanctuary apse is decorated with a representation of the Virgin in the type of the Platytera, and on the barrel-vault are the Officiating Bishops. The vault over the Sanctuary has a scene of the Ascension, and there are figures of Church Fathers on the vaults of the side apses. At the highest point of the dome is a bust of the Pantokrator, followed by three concentric circles, the first of them adorned with a scene of the Holy Liturgy, the second with busts of angels and the third with prophets. The pendentives of the dome are occupied by the four Evangelists. On the vaulting over the *naos* can be detected the following scenes: the Transfiguration, Christ at the age of twelve in the Temple, Christ Cursing the Fig-tree, the Crucifixion, Jacob's Ladder, the Ancient of Days and the Virgin (?), the Hospitality of Abraham, the Healing of many sick, the Healing of the Man Possessed, the Incredulity of Thomas, the Noli me tangere, and the Parable of the Hundred Sheep. The surfaces of the walls have full-length figures of the founders of monasticism (figs. 2-3), amongst them Saint Anthony, Saint Sabbas and Saint Paul the Theban, and the founder of the monastery, Hosios Christodoulos (fig. 2). To the right of the iconostasis is a representation of Saint John, standing and dictating the Gospel to Prochoros. The young, unbearded pupil, with his curly, light brown hair and delicate, serious, oval face, is sitting and has begun to write the gospel on a scroll resting on his knee: 'In the beginning was the Word' (fig. 4).

At this same period,[2] about 1600, the esonarthex of the katholikon was also decorated with wall paintings. Four large compositions adorn the walls and the vault: the left end of the west wall has a scene of the Slaughter of the Innocents, and at the right there are episodes from the cycle of the Birth of Christ, set in a continuous landscape (the Embracing of the Virgin and Elizabeth, the Murder of Zacharias, the Adoration and Flight of the Magi, the Second Dream of Joseph and the Flight into Egypt). The north wall has a scene depicting the Parable of the Ten Virgins. The east and south walls, and the vault covering the esonarthex, are covered with a multi-figural scene of the Last Judgement.

The Slaughter of the Innocents is a large composition, full of violent movement, which, as M.Chatzidakis writes,[3] is strongly reminiscent of battle scenes by Ucello and other Italian painters of the 14th and 15th centuries (figs. 6-7). Soldiers, most of them young, with brown or blond hair, are thrusting daggers and swords into the throats and breasts of the infants, while others are piercing them with their spears. Their mothers are trying vainly to fend off the executioners and save the children. The ones that have lost the struggle are kneeling, or sitting cross-legged, and caressing the dead infants or tearing their hair in lamentation. Their beautiful young faces, stricken with grief, are slightly contracted, though this does not change their appearance, but rather lends a certain nobility. The curly blond hair, of both the men and women, falling over their shoulders, the well-trimmed beards, the soldiers' armour, and the soft drapery of the garments, are all amongst the features deriving from the international Gothic style.

The other large-scale composition, with scenes from the Nativity cycle, is more tranquil (fig. 5). The various episodes of the cycle are set within a single mountain landscape, which has a picturesque quality, thanks to the churches and small, fortified cities on the hill-tops, the trees scattered here and there, and the water-mill. In the centre, Joseph, who is asleep, is receiving the command from God to flee into Egypt, taking Christ and the Virgin with

him. Around the figure of Joseph are set the scenes of the Adoration and the Flight of the Magi and the Flight into Egypt.

The component elements of the scene of the Parable of the Ten Virgins are composed with a symmetry not found in any other painting in the esonarthex (figs. 1 and 8-10). The central axis is occupied by the imposing figure of Christ, the Bridegroom, with the five wise virgins to the left and the five foolish virgins to the right. The former, tall figures with ripe, youthful bodies and handsome, young faces, are approaching the bridegroom, with graceful, tranquil movements, holding lighted torches. The latter, weeping in their agitation, are standing outside the bridal chamber.

The chapel of Hosios Christodoulos, to the south of the esonarthex, is profusely decorated. The highest point of the low, blind dome has a portrayal of the Pantokrator, followed by concentric circles depicting the Holy Liturgy and busts of prophets. The pendentives of the dome are occupied by the four Evangelists, and the flat east wall of the Sanctuary has the Dormition of Hosios Christodoulos. The Sanctuary vault is adorned with the busts of Church Fathers. The surfaces of the walls depict the Restoration of the Icons, the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae, and Saint John of the Ladder.

The chapel of Hosios Christodoulos, which houses the tomb of the founder of the monastery, was possibly erected at the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century, a period of intense building activity on Patmos. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the wooden iconostasis in the chapel,[1] which is dated to the first decade of the 17th century.

This large ensemble of mural paintings, adorning the katholikon, the esonarthex and the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos from top to bottom, was probably the work of a single talented artist. His figures are tall and slender, and their faces have a certain beauty, even though they belong to aged monks. The compositions are multi-figural, and include elements borrowed and assimilated from late Gothic painting (the iconographic cycle of the Birth of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Parable of the Hundred Sheep, etc.).

A curious feature of the iconographic programme of the church is the inclusion of minor scenes from the gospel narrative, such as Christ Cursing the Fig-tree, the Parable of the Hundred Sheep, and others, rarely found in the decoration of churches, while at the same time other scenes, of greater importance in the doctrine of the Orthodox Church, are not painted. The same phenomenon can be seen, however, in the contemporary painted decoration of the katholikon of the Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi[2] on Patmos. With the difference that here the complete gospel cycle is unfolded in the chapel of Saint John the Theologian and Hosios Christodoulos to the south.

In his study of the wall paintings in the esonarthex of the monastery of the Theologian, M.Chatzidakis comes to the conclusion that the painter of them (who in my opinion was also the creator of the frescoes in the katholikon and the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos), was one of the most important Cretan artists from the circle of the painter Angelos. Chatzidakis believes that he was one of the painters invited to Patmos by the monastery in the period from 1580 onwards. It is significant that at this period, the abbot's throne was occupied by the commanding and cultured figure of the Cretan humanist Nikephoros Chartophylax,[3] who built churches on Patmos, wrote archaising epigrams, and taught Greek, philosophy and other subjects. It was apparently this refined personality that invited to the monastery the talented painter of the katholikon[4] and the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos.

THE CHAPEL OF THE VIRGIN

As part of the radical conservation work carried out between 1957 and 1963, after the damage caused by the earthquake of 1956, the Archaeological Service removed from the

walls of the chapel the frescoes which, according to an inscription[1] above the door communicating with the katholikon, had been painted in 1745. Beneath these was revealed the 12th century painted decoration now covering the walls and the ceiling of the chapel. A few sections on the south wall and the ceiling had been destroyed, or damaged.

The flat surface of the east wall of the Sanctuary is divided into three horizontal registers. On the lowest is painted a cloth apron, hanging from a horizontal rod and embroidered with pseudo-kufic motifs, circles, quadrilaterals, and horizontal lines (the apron is continued around all the walls). The middle register has a representation of the Virgin and Child (fig. 11), with the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel (fig. 12) to the right and left of her. In the uppermost register is a depiction of the Hospitality of Abraham (fig. 15). The south wall of the Sanctuary has the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. The northern half of the vault, most of which covers the Sanctuary, is adorned with two scenes. One of these is very difficult to interpret in its present damaged condition. The other depicts the Meeting of Christ and the Woman from Samaria at Jacob's Well (John 4, 5-28) (figs. 17 and 19). The southern half of the vault is covered with the Healing of the Paralysed Man (John 5, 2-9) and the Healing of the Blind Man (John 9, 2-41) (fig. 16). The central section of the chapel is roofed with a cross-vault, the diagonal edges of which dissolve in the middle, to form a flat surface. On this surface there still survives a small section of the scene of the Healing of the Ten Lepers (Luke 17, 11-14) and part of a damaged, unidentified scene.

The whole of the west wall is given over to two scenes. The upper part has the Healing of the Woman with the Bowed Back (Luke 13, 10-17), and the lower a portrayal of a Church Father, the Fount of Wisdom. The former scene is not very common in Byzantine iconography. It is found in the codices gr. 510[2] and gr. 74[3] in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in Monreale[4], and, in Greece, on the vault over the prothesis of Ai-Stratigou Boularion[5] in the Mani. Despite its rarety, the subject is here given great prominence.

The other scene has suffered considerable damage. From the Church Father's lectern, no longer visible because of the damage, flow rivers of wisdom, at which wise men, either prostrate or seated, are drinking. This subject has its roots in the Early Christian paintings of Psalm 41-42, in which are depicted a variety of animals, and usually two deer, facing each other and drinking water from a pot.[6] From the 10th century on, all these elements were combined with the teaching of Saint John Chrysostomos, which seems to have been assisted by the hymnology of the saint. Later, the depiction of the Fount of Wisdom entered the iconography of the other two great Church Fathers, Basil and Gregory. It seems most likely, then, that the figure depicted in the chapel is Chrysostomos, though it is not impossible that it was Basil or Gregory. Whatever the case, the subject occurs here for the first time in monumental painting, as far as we know.

The north and south walls are decorated only with figures of saints, either full-length or in bust (figs. 20-27). The architectural articulation of the walls may have been a contributing factor to this arrangement. The two large pointed arches, and the doors and windows, did not leave any large surfaces on which multi-figural compositions could easily have been developed. Above the embroidered apron is a broad band, approximately 2.60 metres high, with portraits of seven Church Fathers.[7] Four of these are on the north wall: Saint Sallustius of Jerusalem (486-494) (fig. 25), Saint Makarios of Jerusalem (Makarios I, 314-333) (fig. 27) and Saint Elijah of Jerusalem (Elijah I, 494-506); the name written next to the fourth figure has been lost, though the qualification 'of Jerusalem' has survived. Of the other three Church Fathers (fig. 24) on the south wall (there was originally a fourth, now lost), the name survives in only one case, in a damaged inscription: [Saint Juvena]lios (422-458), or [Saint Praÿ]lios (417-422) of Jerusalem. The others were almost certainly also Patriarchs of Jerusalem.

The chapel was thus adorned with a total of at least nine figures of Patriarchs of Jerusalem, when we add that of James the Lord's brother (fig. 26): the aged figure of the first bishop of Jerusalem, attended by a deacon (Saint Stephen) portrayed frontally, is painted close by in the prothesis, his body reverently bowed in worship of the Virgin and Child on the east wall. Two more Church Fathers on the south wall of the Sanctuary are turned to the east and hold open scrolls. The texts on the scrolls, and the inscriptions that were probably painted to the right and left of their heads, indicating their names, are now lost. All the Patriarchs are wearing sticharia with decorated sleeves, and over them phelonia and omophoria. They hold the gospel in their left hand, and are blessing, or making a gentle gesture with the right, or resting it on the book. Apart from James, they are all portrayed frontally, and are linked together in pairs by their sideways gaze.

It is difficult to make any definitive statements about the iconographic programme, since a large part of the frescoes on the ceiling has been destroyed. From the preserved sections, however, we may conjecture that, apart from the Presentation of the Virgin and the Hospitality of Abraham, the frescoes in the chapel of the Virgin mainly depicted Christ's miracles. It is very probable that at this period, the katholikon was adorned with the Dodekaorton and scenes of the Passion of Christ. The scenes adorning the Sanctuary vault, The Presentation of the Virgin, Hospitality of Abraham, Healing of the Paralysed Man, Healing of the Blind Man, and the Woman of Samaria, all have a symbolic connection with this part of the church. The *Painters' Manual* of Dionysios of Fourna recommends that the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple be painted in the Sanctuary. The Virgin 'Theodochos Naos'[1] is painted in the Holy of Holies in the church in Jerusalem, which is connected conceptually with the spiritual heavenly sanctuary, and with the Sanctuary in the church. The Hospitality of Abraham symbolises the Holy Trinity, but it is at the same time a subject associated with the Eucharist.[2]

The other three representations share a common feature in the 'life-giving' water that heals (in the scenes of the paralysed and the blind men) and quenches the thirst (in the scene of the woman of Samaria). From the Early Christian period onwards, water symbolises the word of God which, in Christian belief, proceeds from the Sanctuary, a fact that explains the use of the above scenes here. A similar arrangement is to be found in the katholikon of the monastery of the Archangel Michael at Thari on Rhodes (first half of the 13th century), in which the western part of the Sanctuary vault is adorned with the Ascension and the eastern part, above the altar, with a band containing the Healing of the Paralysed Man and the Blind Man, and Christ's Meeting with the Woman of Samaria. We should not forget, however, that there is another scene, outside the Sanctuary, in which water plays a major role – the portrait of the Church Father, Fount of Wisdom, in which water is identified with wisdom. Attention is drawn to this painting by its large size and its position on the west wall.

The interpretation offered above of the three scenes from the life of Christ in the Sanctuary, which is correct in my view, cannot be extended to the representation of the Church Father, Fount of Wisdom outside the sanctuary.

Another hypothesis perhaps comes closer to the ideological context of the iconography of the chapel. Water symbolises the word of God, which is made tangible, according to Byzantine theology, through the incarnate Christ in the womb of the Virgin. The Virgin thus becomes the Life-giving Fountain (Zoodochos Pigi), since she pours forth life, that is Christ.[3]

The representations in the Sanctuary (the Healing of the Paralysed and the Blind Man and the Meeting with the Woman of Samaria), then, are on the one hand connected through their symbolism with the Sanctuary and the Holy Liturgy; on the other, together with the scene of the Church Father, Fount of Wisdom, they are an expression of the Virgin as

Zoodochos Pigi. In the liturgy[1] of the Zoodochos Pigi, indeed, there are frequent references to Christ's meeting with the woman of Samaria and to the Pool of Siloam. To this day, the liturgy of the Zoodochos Pigi is celebrated in this same chapel by the monks of Patmos on the Friday of the week after Easter.[2]

Saint Anne was also honoured in the same part of the church. It is perhaps not too bold to interpret this as an indication of the direct Constantinopolitan origin of the worship of the Zoodochos Pigi on Patmos, especially at what was, as far as we know, a fairly early period. There is a chapel[3] of Ioakeim and Anne in the Monastery of Baloukli (Zoodochos Pigi) in Constantinople, the cradle of this worship. A connection of this kind is not unlikely, since the probable donor, as we shall see, lived in Constantinople.[4]

Almost all the scenes are rather plain, and confined to the essential features required to indicate the action. The space is abstract. The background is represented by a strip of green at the bottom and a broader blue band at the top. The space in which the meal takes place in the Hospitality of Abraham (fig. 15) is not defined. The oak of Mamre, included in some other representations of this scene to indicate the place at which the Holy Trinity miraculously appeared to Abraham, is missing. In the Healing of the Blind Man, and the Paralysed Man, only the fonts full of water give any definition to the space, and this takes shape and is made concrete only in the light of a knowledge of the relevant passages of the Gospels. In the scene of the Woman of Samaria, the mountain with a few stylized trees, rising behind Christ and the Apostle standing next to him, serves only to emphasise the two figures.

Throughout there is a tendency to symmetry and rhythm, and a preference for frontal figures. The Hospitality of Abraham is inscribed perfectly within the arch of the east wall. The angel in the middle is portrayed frontally, and is set precisely on the axis of the composition; this runs from the point of the arch, through the angel's nose, jaw and hand, and ends at the central leg of the table. This deliberate symmetry can be seen in the triangles formed by the angels' heads, the three hands raised in blessing, and the three pairs of legs. There is a similar symmetry in almost all the compositions, though they are not invariably as closed and compact as the Hospitality. Triangles are also used as compositional elements in the large Enthroned Virgin with the two archangels, on the east wall. In this representation there is a horizontal axis, too, starting from the eyes and base of the nose of one of the archangels, running through the base of the Virgin's neck, and ending at the eyes and base of the nose of the other archangel. Another horizontal axis connects the base of the neck of the two archangels and the eyes of Christ.

The fondness of symmetry and rhythm is equally pronounced in the individual figures of saints, especially in those of old men, in which the facial features, cheeks, ears, hair, beard, etc., tend to be treated as separate shapes (fig. 25). Although the drapery is not very agitated, the clothes occasionally cling to the body, to emphasise the shape of some particular limb, such as the knees and the shins of the two outer angels in the Hospitality of Abraham (fig. 15), the right leg of the seated figure at the bottom in the Church Father, Fount of Wisdom, and so on. This tendency on the part of the painter to make use of rhythm and symmetry is also clear in the organisation of the surfaces of the two side walls, the north and south, where he painted individual figures, both full-length and in bust, or loose compositions (the representation of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos consists of an arrangement of busts of the figures along the front arch of the north wall). The poses of the figures are slightly differentiated from each other by small movements of the hands or feet; or one figure may hold a Gospel, while another holds a cross, and so on. The monotony of these frontal stances is relieved by the sideways gaze common to all the figures.

The faces of the young men are generally full, with warmly modelled flesh, and patches of red on the cheeks and green shadows (fig. 21). In the figures of old men, the facial features,

hair and beard, are frequently treated as geometric shapes, and the wrinkled flesh is modelled with yellow ochre, dark brown and green shadows (fig. 24).

A single painter seems to have organised and directed the entire decoration. The heads of Christ and the Apostle in the scene of the Woman of Samaria (figs. 17-18), with their strong jaws, are quite different from all the others in the chapel, and suggest that the style of the artist who worked on them was very similar to that of his colleagues at the Ayioi Anargyroi and the Mavriotissa in Kastoria.[1] All the other elements, however, such as the modelling of the flesh, the hair and the beards, the drapery, the postures of the figures, and the colours, are similar throughout all the rest of the decoration, as are the ears, which are treated as ornamentation, and the red patches on the cheeks.

The wall paintings in the chapel belong to a series of ensembles from the end of the 12th century, in which the compositions are tranquil and monumental in conception, and the figures static, frontal and vigorous. Violent movements, contorted poses, and elaborate, agitated drapery are all avoided. The paintings belong to the so-called 'monumental' or 'academic' style[2] which foreshadows and prepares the ground for the new art of the 13th century, as perfected in the wall paintings of Sopočani. At the same time, there are also elements of the 'dynamic' style in these frescoes,[3] such as the geometric shapes of the volumes in the modelling of the old men's faces and the drapery of the angels in the Hospitality, and of the seated figure in the representation of the Church Father, Fount of Wisdom. A number of features converge to suggest a date in the last quarter of the 12th century for the paintings, amongst them the sparseness of the landscape, and their iconographic, morphological and stylistic affinity with the mosaics of Monreale and some of the compositions in the Ayioi Anargyroi and Ayios Nikolaos in Kastoria.[4] The above dating is confirmed by the figures of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem;[5] these may even suggest a more precise date, since it is certainly not by chance that they decorate the two side walls, north and south. Leontios II[6] became Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1176, and died about 1190. Leontios was abbot of the monastery on Patmos from 1157 to 1158, and it appears that when he became Patriarch, he continued to hold the position of abbot[7] of the monastery for a few years, possibly until 1180. Apart from a short period when he tried to take up residence in Jerusalem, then occupied by the Franks, and stayed for a while in Cyprus on his journey there, he spent the rest of his time in Constantinople, from where he gave frequent and varied assistance to the monks of Patmos.

The series of Patriarchs of Jerusalem may thus possibly be an echo of the fact that it was Leontios who donated the money and supervised the execution of the frescoes in the chapel of the Virgin. They were probably painted during the time that he was simultaneously Patriarch of Jerusalem and abbot of the monastery,[8] that is, between 1176 and 1180.

THE REFECTORY

The interior of this structure was decorated with wall paintings[9] in both the building phases that can be detected. The painted decoration of the first phase can be seen only on the drum of the blind apse at the north end of the west wall. The powerful and expressive figures of Saints Euthymios, Chariton (fig. 28), Ilarion (fig. 29) and a fourth, whose name, to the right has been covered by the later arch, are very similar to Saints Sallustius (fig. 25), Mokios and Nephon in the chapel of the Virgin. The faces of the old men here, as in the chapel, are modelled with volumes treated as independent shapes. Above the saints, what survives of two scenes has remained uncovered by more recent structures. To the left is the 10th Morning Gospel (John 21, 1-2), where Christ appears to the apostles on the shore of the Sea

of Tiberias (the Miraculous Draught of Fish). All that can be seen is the boat, on the waves, and some of the apostles, who are rowing. To the right is the scene of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Four fishes and three loaves can be made out on a table, while a fourth loaf is held by a figure of whom only the hands have been preserved.

The whole of the rest of the painted decoration covering the west and part of the north sides (only a few traces are preserved on the east) was executed after the second building phase of the refectory. The overall iconographic programme is not known, for about half the paintings have been destroyed. From what has survived, however, four iconographic cycles can be detected: one connected with the Eucharist; one relating to the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Christ and the events after the Resurrection; a doctrinal cycle (scenes of Ecumenical Councils); and one including figures of the founders of monasticism, or episodes from their lives, to serve as models for the monks of Patmos.

The first cycle, relating to the Eucharist, is painted on the northern end of the west side, and the north wall next to it. It includes the following scenes: Christ appearing to the apostles at the Sea of Tiberias (the Miraculous Draught of Fish) (fig. 30), the Feeding of the Five Thousand (fig. 31), the Communion of Wine (fig. 32) and the Communion of Bread (fig.33) of the Apostles, and the Welcoming of the Three Angels by Abraham.

The relevance to the Eucharist is explicit in some of these and indirect in others. The scene of Christ's appearance to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias is part of the cycle of Morning Gospels, but at the same time it here also has a content relating to the Eucharist, stressed by the inclusion next to Christ's feet of a fish and a loaf – early symbols of Christ, of whom the faithful partake at Communion in the form of food. The Feeding of the Five Thousand, which occurs as early as the scenes in the catacombs, is also associated with the Holy Communion.[1] The relevance to the Eucharist of the Communion of Bread and the Communion of Wine[2] is obvious. It is because of this that they are frequently painted on the Sanctuary apse – that is, in the place where the Holy Eucharist is celebrated. The final scene, depicting the Welcoming of the Three Angels by Abraham, is not directly connected with the liturgy. The scene of the Hospitality of Abraham, however, which was undoubtedly painted as a sequel to the Welcoming, but which is now lost, symbolised the Holy Trinity, and with it, the Holy Eucharist.[3]

The exact historical order of events has not been adhered to in the arrangement, since some scenes from the second cycle intrude into the cycle of the Eucharist: Jesus praying in the Garden of Gethsemane (fig. 34), the Betrayal by Judas (fig. 35) and the Washing of the Disciples' Feet, all of them episodes that preceded the Crucifixion.

The intrados and drum of the large arch in the middle of the west wall, below the dome, at the entrance, was adorned with six scenes from the Passion and two depicting events after the Crucifixion. The biggest part of the drum is covered with an agitated, multi-figural scene of the Crucifixion (fig. 36), and above this can be detected the lower part of another representation, possibly of the Procession to Calvary. On the right side of the intrados of the large arch can be seen the following scenes, from top to bottom: the Judging of Christ by the high priests, the Denial of Peter, and the 'Go ye... and teach...' (first Morning Gospel) – Christ's instruction to the apostles, after the Resurrection, to proclaim his Gospel. The left side of the intrados has, from top to bottom: the Preparation of the Cross, the Division of Christ's Clothes, and the Descent from the Cross.

The western half of the south vault has three more scenes of events after the Crucifixion; the Lamentation (fig. 37), the Myrrh-bearers at the Tomb (fig. 38) and Christ's Descent into Hell. Above this is a single band with scenes of three of the seven Ecumenical Councils (doctrinal cycle), the second, fourth and sixth – that is, the ones with even numbers. The other four were probably depicted on the eastern half of the vault.

The drum and intrados of the arch of the blind apse in the south part of the west wall is decorated with scenes from the fourth cycle, relating to the lives of the great monks. At the top of the drum, to the left, is a representation of the Death of the Righteous Man (fig. 39). The damaged scene on the left part of the intrados probably depicted the Death of the Sinner. Both of these were visions attributed to Saint Euthymios.[1] The bearded figure of a saint, making a gesture and seated at the left in the scene of the Death of the Righteous Man, is in all probability the great monk himself. On the right of the same drum and intrados are two more scenes of visions connected with death, but these are so badly preserved that, at present at least, they have not been identified. A.Orlandos[2] is of the view that these scenes on the drum depicting visions, the Death of the Righteous Man and so on, belong to the earliest phase. I believe that they should be assigned to the third and last phase. This fourth cycle also includes the figures of the saints depicted on the north half of the west wall: Dionysios the Areopagite (fig. 41), Kyprianos (fig. 42), Amphilochios and Gregorios of Agrigentum.

The close similarity in style between the figures of the first phase of the wall paintings, which are preserved only on the drum of the north blind apse, and those in the chapel of the Virgin, suggests the hypothesis that they are contemporary. A.Orlandos dated them to the beginning of the 13th century, while E.Tsigaridas[3] proposes the decade 1180-1190.

The wall paintings of the second building phase were clearly not all painted at the same time. The north part, up to the arch supporting the west side of the dome, is the earlier, and the rest were created several decades later.

The painter of the north part worked in the spirit of the 'dynamic' style of the end of the 12th century. He is fond of rhythm, which is almost that of the dance in the scene of the Welcoming of the Three Angels by Abraham, but his painting takes on a decorative quality in the drawing of the volumes of the bodies and the drapery. The right leg of Judas in the Betrayal, and that of the Apostle Andrew in the Communion of Bread are like powerful pistons, with the clothing, pulled tightly over them, forming concentric circles on the buttock, and sinewy volumes on the thigh and shin. The hair of the apostle sleeping with his head on his knees in the scene of the Prayer in Gethsemane is rendered in a stylized fashion.

The attitude of Judas' body in the Betrayal, turned and viewed from behind, though not a new feature in Byzantine art, is rendered in a sophisticated, skilful manner found in figures of the lst quarter of the 12th century, such as those in the Ayioi Anargyroi at Kastoria,[4] at Kurbinovo[5] and elsewhere. I agree, therefore, with M.Chatzidakis, that the northern part of the painted decoration[6] dates from about 1200.

The workshop that painted the frescoes of the west arch and the south part of the refectory had embraced the principles and artistic trends of the 13th century. The faces are rendered more freely, and on occasion very dramatically. The multi-figural composition of the Crucifixion has almost nothing of the earlier austerity. Everything in it moves in mourning for the death of God, culminating in the figure of the Virgin, collapsed in a faint, and the lamenting angels flying around the cross. The Crucifixion is the focal point for all the other scenes of the Passion surrounding it on the intrados and drum of the arch, and intensifying even further its emotional quality. The entire surface enclosed by the arch, then, is devoted to the Passion and the sacrifice of God, that is celebrated mysteriously at the time of the liturgy.[7] A connection with the Eucharist can be seen here, too. Scenes with this kind of content were particularly common in the decoration of refectories.[8] Representations like those of the Crucifixion, the Division of the Clothes, the Lamentation and the Descent into Hell are not only multi-figural and detailed in their iconography, but are also accompanied by commentaries, in the form of the litugrical texts written on scrolls held by the authors of them, who stand close by. This reveals a trend towards the indirect

illustration of the liturgical texts, which assumed considerable importance in the iconographic programmes of churches from the 13th century onwards.[1] The Ecumenical Councils are also accompanied by commentaries in the texts held by the opposed Orthodox and heretical Church Fathers, and they thereby acquire a strong doctrinal character.

The fainting of the Virgin in the Crucifixion makes its first appearance as an iconographic element, as far as we know, in monuments from the end of the 12th century (the Mavriotissa in Kastoria)[2], and continues to be found in the 13th and following centuries of Byzantine painting.[3] In the scene of the Lamentation, Mary Magdalene is shown tearing her hair in grief. This despairing outburst by the woman, which gives the scene a popular, dramatic content, appears in Byzantine art, I believe, towards the end of the 13th century (the Omorfi Ekklisia[4] on Egina, and Ayios Klimis[5] in Ochrid). All the above elements, then, and especially the grieving figure of Mary Magdalene in the Lamentation suggest that the final phase of the wall paintings of the refectory was executed in the last quarter of the 13th century.[6]

THE CAVE OF THE REVELATION

According to tradition, it was in this cave that Saint John the Theologian, in exile on Patmos, dictated the book of Revelation to Prochoros.[7] It formed a centre of worship around which, from time to time, were built cells and chapels, one on top of the other, piecemeal, and without any order or design, forming a group of buildings of some complexity internally, and with a certain sculptural quality externally.

The heart of this religious complex is a double church, the north part of which, a single vaulted room, is dedicated to Saint Anne, and the south part – that is, the cave – to Saint John the Theologian (fig. 43). Popular tradition believes, as it does for other buildings on Patmos, that Hosios Christodoulos was the first founder. It is highly unlikely that he found time for this, however, since he left the island in some haste and did not even complete the monastery. The first modelling of the space perhaps took place in the 12th century, after the death of Christodoulos, when his spiritual children returned to Patmos from Euboea, where they had accompanied him in his flight. It is not clear whether it was only the natural cave that was involved in the first building phase, or whether the vaulted chapel of Saint Anne was also built in front of it at this time. The present structure was erected at the end of the 16th century by Parthenios Pangostas and the monk Germanos, according to an inscription painted on the carved iconostasis.[8]

What survives of the painted decoration[9] of the Sanctuary in the Cave itself, came to light in 1973, completely by chance, beneath the later whitewash. At some stage, out of a desire to convert the natural cave into a place of worship, a wall was built at the east end with two small niches, one at the north end and one at the south, to serve as the prothesis and the diakonikon. We do not know whether there was a Sanctuary apse in the middle at this stage, or whether the altar was simply placed in front of the wall. The present Sanctuary apse certainly did not exist then, for when it was created, or enlarged (probably when the Cave was renovated by Parthenios Pangostas and the monk Germanos in the 16th century), it destroyed parts of two successive layers of wall paintings to the right and left of it. I believe that the first of these layers belongs to the first modelling of the cave. It was painted in the 12th century, and certainly well before the end of it. All that can be detected today is an apotropaic cross studded with precious stones, from the base of which spring stylised shoots; between the arms are painted the abbrevations Φ(ΩΣ) Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΥ) Φ(ΑΙΝΕΙ) Π(ΑΣΙ): The Light of Christ Shines on All.

At a later period, the whole of the east wall of the Sanctuary was decorated with wall paintings, part of which survives, though in a badly damaged condition. To the right of the central apse is a representation of the event for which the cave is remembered: Saint John the Theologian, in a mountain landscape, hears the word of God and dictates it to his seated disciple Prochoros (fig. 44). The lower part of the scene is lost, and the colour has flaked away here and there from the hair, body and clothes of Prochoros. Above the head of the Evanglist is the inscription Ο Α(ΓΙΟC) ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗC) Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Saint John the Theologian).

The painter here uses the scene of the vision of Saint John to decorate the very cave in which, according to tradition, the event itself took place; he does not depict the vision as taking place inside the cave, however, but sets the figures in the open air, probably with another established prototype in mind.

The bust of Saint Basil, one of two Church Fathers originally painted in the small prothesis apse, is still preserved, holding a closed book in front of his breast with both hands. To the right of the central apse all that survives is part of the halo of Saint Nicholas, whose name is preserved next to it (the representation was destroyed when the central apse was built or enlarged). In the diakonikon apse, to the south of the Sanctuary, there is the bust of an unknown saint, damaged by the effects of damp. Two other damaged figures are the busts of martyrs, holding crosses, one above the diakonikon apse, and the other to his right. Around the figures of the saints are carved names in Roman characters (only one survives in Greek). They may have been 'prayers' by western European monks, on pilgrimage, or by Frankish invaders who, from the 12th century on, frequently visited Patmos, plundered the island, and demanded ransom money from the monastery.[1]

The two best preserved figures in the painted decoration of the Cave are those of Saint John the Theologian in the scene of his vision, and Saint Basil painted in the small apse of the prothesis. Although they are both old men, their features are treated differently. There is a contrast in the way the painter works the volumes of the faces. That of Basil is furrowed with deep wrinkles, which are rendered as geometric shapes: the Church Father is very close in style and feeling to the elderly saints in the chapel of the Virgin and the first layer in the refectory. By contrast, the features of the Theologian have been rendered more gently and more naturally. The technique of the artist is more painterly here. It does not seem to me to resemble any of the figures preserved in the chapel or the refectory, but is closer to the faces of old men in the church of Ayios Dimitrios at Vladimir[2] and that at Batskovo[3] in Bulgaria. This contrast does not automatically imply two different painters. We observed a similar phenomenon in the chapel of the Virgin. It is probably a case of the artist being influenced by different models.

The stylistic affinities between the wall paintings in the Cave and the figures in the chapel of the Virgin and the refectory in the monastery, on the one hand, and those at Vladimir and Batskovo, on the other, suggest a date in the last twenty years of the 12th century.

The cultivation of painting of quality in the second half of the 12th and the 13th centuries, both on Patmos and in areas in which the monastery enjoyed influence and reputation (at the metochia of the Holy Apostles on Kalymnos, the Virgin Kastrianon on Kos, and Saint John the Theologian on Leros), is not fortuitous. This entire group of painted decoration reflects the good taste of intellectually refined circles. The abbots of the 12th and 13th centuries were men of culture, and many of them came from the upper social classes. Education and an upper class origin, moreover, were not confined to the abbots but extended to other members of the monastic community. The John[4] who became bishop of Rhodes and wrote a biography of Hosios Christodoulos was originally a simple monk on Patmos. Athanasios,[5] later Patriarch of Antioch, and Theodosios,[6] both of whom wrote

encomia of Christodoulos, were also ordinary monks, the former in the third quarter of the 12th century and the latter at the end of the same century. Theodosios also wrote a biography of the abbot Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem and probably the donor of the painted decoration of the walls of the chapel of the Virgin.

The high level of the intellectual life of the monks of Patmos is also clear from the contents of the monastery library. Christodoulos, alongside his efforts to build the monastery, and protect its fearful occupants from the pirates, the Turks and the hostile environment of the island, founded the first library. He made an inventory of his books and bequeathed them to the monastery.[1] There was probably a workshop producing manuscripts on Patmos from Christodoulos' time. The wealth of the library and the importance of its copying activities are eloquently attested by a note in a manuscript of 1180, in the Patmos codex 175.[2] Neilos, abbot of the monastery of Saint John Artamites on Rhodes, presented the manuscript to the monastery of Patmos and wrote, amongst other things, '... for what other venerable monastery has grammarians and calligraphers, like the god-built monastery of the beloved?'

The monks of Patmos remained faithful to the official Byzantine ideology, and continued to depend closely on the capital. It should not be forgotten that they occupied the 'uninhabitable' rock of Patmos, and were reinforced in every way by the state, in order to keep part of the south-east Aegean under the control of Byzantium, by repelling the Turks and the Franks. This was the fundamental reason that Alexios I and his successors supported the monastery.

This steadfast adherence to the imperial and Orthodox ideology, and the close relationship with the capital, found their expression in the wall paintings of the monastery, both in their high quality, and in their subject matter. In addition to the conventional subjects of the tradition, this includes a number of notable eccentricities in choice and arrangement. In the chapel of the Virgin, the water in those miracles connected with it symbolises the word of God, reviving bodies and souls. The word of God is that which is in accord with the official Orthodox ideology, as expressed and interpreted by the texts of the unquestioned great Fathers of the Church. This is probably the meaning intended, I believe, by the rare representation of the Church Father, Fount of Wisdom combined with the scene of the Healing of the Woman with the bowed back, the two of which cover the entire surface of the west wall. The scene of the Woman with the bowed back portrays sinners, heretics and unbelievers who, stooping symbolically, see only earthly things, and are healed by the word of God, as interpreted by the Church Father, the representative of the Orthodox Church, in the other scene.

The frieze of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the same chapel is, as we have seen, indirect evidence for the identity of the donor of the wall paintings and for the period at which they were painted; at the same time, however, it is an expression of the claims of the Empire on the Holy Land, which was at that time under the control of the Franks. And the representation of the Ecumenical Councils on the walls of the refectory is the best possible demonstration of faith in Orthodoxy, as formulated and strengthened by the decisions of these Councils.

The Byzantine wall paintings of Patmos have a homogeneity of style and technique that is probably due to the fact that the painters of them came from the same centre, and that they were all executed within a relatively short period. At the same time they are of high quality, the works of trained and devoted artists from some major centre of the Empire. The origins of these workshops were probably in Constantinople, since the monastery on Patmos was protected and reinforced by the emperors. Moreover, the monastery had a direct relationship with the capital at this period. The abbots[3] travelled back and forth to request

or to confirm privileges and to receive economic aid, and it was the place of residence of Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the probable donor of the wall paintings in the chapel of the Virgin.

In contrast, the exceptionally fine wall paintings adorning the katholikon, its esonarthex and the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos, works of about 1600, are yet another example, like the countless portable icons owned by the monastery, of the aesthetic leanings of the monks of Patmos towards the painting of Crete during the period of Turkish rule. From the middle Byzantine period the monastery enjoyed close economic relations with Crete on account of the property it owned there and the fact that the emperors supplied it with grain and money from the Great Island.[1] It also became culturally dependent on Crete in the post-Byzantine period. Cretan artists[2] came to Patmos to decorate the churches with wall paintings and to construct iconostases. The monastery commissioned portable icons, too, from major Cretan painters. We may note again that the abbot's throne was occupied by the commanding figure of the Cretan humanist Nikephoros Chartophylax, whose work contributed to the brilliance of the monastery.

1. The Parable of the Ten Virgins (details. See also figs. 8 and 9). Esonarthex of the katholikon, north wall. c. 1600.

2. Hosios Christodoulos (detail). Katholikon, north wall. c. 1600.

3. A saint (detail). Katholikon, north wall. c. 1600.

4. St. John the Theologian dictating the Gospel to Prochoros. Katholikon, south wall. c. 1600.

4

5

5. Scenes from the Nativity cycle: the Adoration and Flight of the Magi, the Second Dream of Joseph, the Flight into Egypt. Esonarthex of the katholikon, west wall. c. 1600.

6. The Slaughter of the Innocents (detail). Esonarthex of the katholikon, west wall. c. 1600.

7. The Slaughter of the Innocents (detail). Esonarthex of the katholikon, west wall. c. 1600.

8. The Parable of the Ten Virgins. Esonarthex of the katholikon, north wall. c. 1600.

7

8

9. The Five Wise Virgins (detail of fig. 8).

10

10. Christ – the Groom (detail of fig. 8).

11

11. The Virgin Enthroned with Child (detail). Chapel of the Virgin, east wall. 1176-1180.

12

12. Archangel (detail). Chapel of the Virgin, east wall. 1176-1180.

13

13. The Angel on the left from the Hospitality of Abraham (detail). Chapel of the Virgin, east wall. 1176-1180.

14

14. The middle Angel from the Hospitality of Abraham (detail). Chapel of the Virgin, east wall. 1176-1180.

15. The Hospitality of Abraham. Chapel of the Virgin, east wall. 1176-1180. →

16

17

18

16. The Healing of the Blind Man (detail). Chapel of the Virgin, south section of the Sanctuary vault. 1176-1180.

17-18. Christ and the Apostle (details of fig. 19).

19. The Meeting of Christ with the Samaritan Woman. Chapel of the Virgin, north section of the Sanctuary vault. 1176-1180.

19

20

20. Bust of a saint. Chapel of the Virgin, north wall. 1176-1180.

21

21. Bust of Saint John: Chapel of the Virgin, north wall. 1176-1180.

22

22. Bust of a saint. Chapel of the Virgin, north wall. 1176-1180.

23

23. Bust of Saint Xenophon. Chapel of the Virgin, north wall. 1176-1180.

24. Unknown Patriarch of Jerusalem (detail). Chapel of the Virgin, south wall. 1176-1180.

25

25. Saint Sallustius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (detail). Chapel of the Virgin, north wall. 1176-1180.

26

27

28

29

27. Saint Makarios, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Chapel of the Virgin, north wall. 1176-1180.

28. Saint Chariton (detail). Refectory, west wall (first layer of paintings). 1176-1180.

29. Saint Ilarion (detail). Refectory, west wall (first layer of paintings). 1176-1180.

26. Saint James the Brother of the Lord. Chapel of the Virgin, north wall. 1176-1180.

30

31

32

33

30. The Appearance of Christ at the Sea of Tiberias. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

31. The Feeding of the Five Thousand. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

32. The Communion of Wine of the Apostles. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

33. The Communion of Bread of the Apostles. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

34

35

36

36. The Crucifixion. Refectory, west wall. Last quarter of the 13th century.

34. The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

35. The Betrayal. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

37. The Lamentation at the Tomb. Refectory, west wall.
Last quarter of the 13th century.

38. The Myrrophores at the Tomb. Refectory, west wall.
Last quarter of the 13th century.

39. The Death of the Righteous Man. Refectory, west wall.
Last quarter of the 13th century.

38

39

40

40. Two figures, detail from the Resurrection. Refectory, west wall. Last quarter of the 13th century.

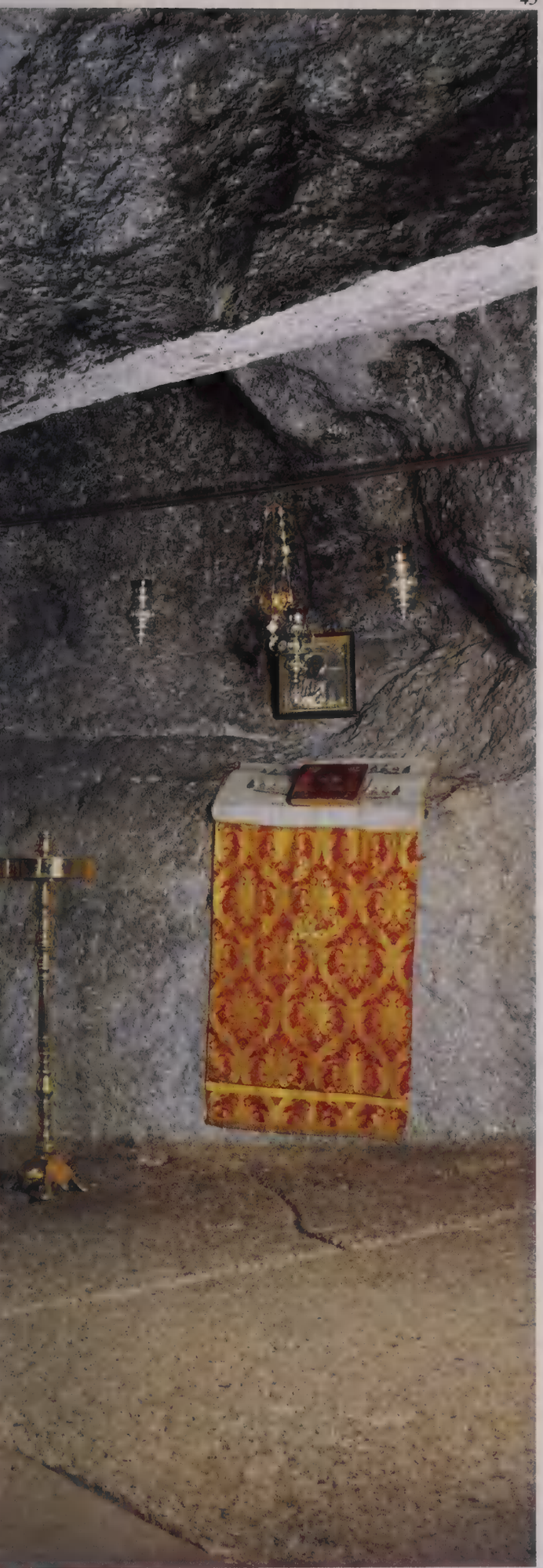
41

41. Saint Dionysios the Areopagite. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

42

42. Saint Kyprianos. Refectory, west wall. c. 1200.

43



43. The interior of the Cave of the Revelation.

44. St. John the Theologian dictating the Book of Revelation to Prochoros. Cave of the Revelation, east wall. Last twenty years of the 12th century.

44

ICONS

ICONS

The monastery was founded in 1088 by Christodoulos of Latros and gradually enriched by many fine icons, works of art with a religious purpose. This was probably the work of his successors as abbot of the Monastery, men of good education and high social rank, and Constantinople was no doubt the main supplier. An impression of the beauty of the interior of the church is conveyed by a 12th century monk: 'The astonishing beauty of the church, here ablaze with the brilliance of its marbles, there lit up with the flashing gold of its holy icons'. An Inventory has survived of these icons, with their gleaming gold, dating from 1200 and containing 18 items; these represent not the total number of icons, but only those that it was felt ought to be catalogued because of their revetments of precious metals and stones; from this point of view, the number is already an impressive one. Those not listed will have included the four simple icons bequeathed to the monastery by Christodoulos himself.

Of this treasure, only a single icon has survived to the present day; despite the overpaintings, this gives us some idea of the icons now lost. The icon in question is the *proskynesis* (the most venerated icon) of the Monastery. It depicts Saint John the Theologian, and has revetments of precious metal, and finely worked enamel; tradition has it that it was a gift from the emperor (fig. 4).

The small mosaic icon of Saint Nicholas (figs. 1-3) also belongs to the Byzantine period; this, too, has a silver revetment, and is one of the earliest mosaic icons. Saint Theodore (fig. 5) and Saint James (fig. 6) are choice examples of Byzantine icon painting from the 12th and 13th centuries, and represent artistic trends of a high level. Other Byzantine icons come from a different period: the icon of Saint Nicholas, with scenes from his life (fig. 15) points to a date in the last century of the Empire when, even before the fall of Constantinople, there were flourishing centres on the periphery, in the Peloponnese and Crete; those on Crete probably offered a home to artists seeking refuge there from the central areas of the Empire. It is clear from the realistic elements in the icon that the painter of Saint Nicholas lived in an area occupied by the Venetians, and this turns our thoughts to Crete. Similar signs can be found in smaller fine icons, which may therefore be assigned to the same area, on the same grounds; these include the Crucifixion (fig. 9) and the Dormition of the Virgin (figs. 10-12), both of which came from the same Dodekaorton. They are thought to belong to the first half of the 15th century, and to be connected with Crete. Saint Nicholas (fig. 13) is in the same category.

The relations of mutual dependence between the Monastery and Crete, then under Venetian occupation, became even closer when, after the fall of Constantinople, the metochion of Stylos, in Apokorona on Crete, then under Venetian occupation, became the Monastery's main source of economic support, even though the latter had passed into the control of the Turks. The study of the icons attributed to a first period (1450-1530) suggests that at this time the monks on Patmos were in a position to undertake work of renovation

and to order new iconostases for the katholikon and the chapels, and also new icons to decorate them. The only source that could meet these artistic demands was Crete, the major artistic centre in the region. Support for this view is provided by the two large icons by the Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos, Christ Pantokrator (fig. 18) and the Virgin Pantanassa (fig. 17); these were made especially for the new iconostasis, which will itself have come from Crete, where wood-carving also flourished. All that survives of the iconostasis is a sanctuary door of monumental proportions and construction, the painting on which was by Andreas Ritzos (died c. 1494). There are historical reasons to believe that this artistic flowering was connected with an exemption from taxes granted by the Venetians in 1483.

A group of icons in the monastery, and also in the churches of Chora, are related either directly or indirectly, to these large icons by Andreas Ritzos. Two small, elegant panagiaria (fig. 21) are associated with the work of Andreas' son, Nikolaos Ritzos. Several more of the icons of the Monastery belong to this same fertile period in the second half of the 15th century. The icon of the Theologian (fig. 19) is close to the style of Ritzos, and was perhaps painted on the island. Icons by the famous painter Angelos are also represented (figs. 14 and 16). This period may be described as fertile because it saw the crystallisation in Crete not only of techniques, but also of styles, with their westernising variations, depending on the aesthetic preferences of the customer, and even of a number of iconographic types.

The 16th and 17th centuries, at all levels, built on the achievements of the 15th, and in particular on the classicising style of Andreas Ritzos. For there were in the 15th century a number of parallel tendencies that were not continued into the 16th, tendencies that were less linear, and freer, with greater passion, as in the icon of Saint John the Baptist (figs. 7-8). The Italo-Cretan icon of the Man of Sorrow (Akra Tapeinosis) (fig. 22) is the work of a 15th century Cretan painter, directly related to the art of the excellent painter Nikolaos Tzafouris. There are other icons on Patmos, too, in a manifestly 'Italianising' style, some of which even found their place on Orthodox iconostases. The special relationship between the Monastery and Crete continued in the following centuries too. It is attested by icons by Michael Damaskinos (figs. 27-28), Georgios Klontzas (figs. 29-34), Thomas Vathas (figs. 35-36) and Ioannis Apakas (figs. 39-40), of the 16th century, and other famous 17th century painters, such as Jeremiah Palladas (fig. 38), and, later, Emmanuel Skordilis (figs. 44 and 45).

In addition to these works by known painters, the Monastery collection contains many more notable icons of the 16th (fig. 26) and 17th centuries (see figs. 37, 41 and 42-43), and even works by Theodoros Poulakis (figs. 46-51). All these are by Cretan painters. Ioannis Delousas (c.1600) went regularly from Chania to work on Patmos, and a number of unsigned icons were probably by him, though these are not, of course, identified.

Works by local painters have been traced only at the beginning of the 17th century (figs. 52 and 53). Stamatis of Chios, Theodoros and others followed the Cretan painters, though their art is more primitive. All these networks of artistic and cultural relations between Patmos and Crete came to an end with the sack of Heraklion by the Turks in 1669.

ST. NICHOLAS. 11th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: Overall: height 21.7 cm., width 18.6 cm., thickness 3.6 cm. Mosaic scene: height 14 cm., width 10 cm.

The icon is well preserved. A vertical crack was filled with sealing wax at an early date. The icon was repaired and cleaned systematically in 1963 (by Ph. Zachariou), though the sealing wax was not removed.

Mosaic icon with a full-length figure of Saint Nicholas, blessing with his right hand. In his left – now lost – he will have been holding a book (fig. 1). Next to him are miniature figures of Christ offering him a Gospel book, and the Virgin offering an omophorion (figs. 2-3) – a representation of the Saint's dream when he was imprisoned on the orders of Constantine the Great for slapping the heretic Arius. The saint is standing on a strip of dark green representing the ground, between two bushes with eight tall stems, and a flower at the top. The scene is enclosed within a mosaic border of continuous triangles, and a second, broader band formed by the wood itself, sheathed in silver; the relief decoration of the latter is contemporary with the mosaic scene – apart from the strip at the bottom, which was added later – and has medallions containing the Preparation of the Throne and Saints Theodore, George, Procopios and Demetrios.

The scene is composed of tiny tesserae of unequal size, and a variety of colours. The head was worked with the smallest tesserae, set with greater care and closer together than the others. The handling of the material on such a minute scale reveals exquisite craftsmanship and complete mastery of the medium. This can be seen in the warm, sculptural quality and intense expressions of the tiny faces, both that of the saint, who is looking to the side, and the tranquil, serious faces of Christ and the Virgin.

The icon is usually dated to the 11th century, though it has also been assigned to the 12th. A comparison of it with miniatures in the Vatican codex Reg.gr.1, from the 10th century, with 11th century menologia, and with the 12th century mosaic icon like it in Kiev (now lost), points to the earlier date for the icon. The assigning of it to the 11th century is supported by a study of the silver revetment; the iconographic, technical and stylistic features of this all point to the 11th century (Tsoukouli Virgin in Georgia, 10th or 11th century; Reliquary of the True Cross in the Hermitage, 11th -12th century; Tsayeri Virgin in Georgia, 11th century).

SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN. 12th and 15th centuries.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, narthex of the katholikon.
Dimensions: height 114.5 cm., width 81 cm., thickness 3.5 cm.
Wood with canvas extending over the upper edge of the block. This same, unusual technical feature is also to be found in the icon of Saint James (fig. 6). The icon has not been conserved and cleaned.

Saint John the Theologian is portrayed half-length, turning to the right and holding in both hands a Gospel book turned sideways and open at a text (fig. 4). The raised border of the icon is covered with repoussé silver and gilded revetment: The halo and the Gospel book are enamelled. We are informed by the 19th century chronicler Smyrnakis that the background, the table with the ink-pot, the gilded floor, and the saint's name were the result of overpainting by the monk Daniel of Crete († 1838, June 10th).

This icon, which is the *proskynesis* (the most venerated icon) of the Monastery, is mentioned in a codex of 1200, though stylistically it should be attributed, in its present form, to the 15th century Cretan school. Study of the iconographic type, however, does not support the conclusions based on style. The apostle's pose, and the manner in which he is

holding the Gospel book recall a type of the seated Evangelist seen in an 11th century Vatican manuscript, Cod.Vat.gr. 756, and also in Bodl.Canon gr. 38, from the beginning of the 14th century. A closer study of the personal features reveals an emphasis on the psychological and spiritual, and some of the physical characteristics are exaggerated: the bulging, high forehead, intended to depict the philosopher and man of learning. This manneristic tendency is characteristic of the last phase of the 12th century (Church of the Ayioi Anargyroi at Kastoria, 1170-1180; Kurbinovo 1191; Refectory of the Monastery on Patmos, c. 1200), and the prototype, or even the icon itself, may be assigned to this period. The metal halo, moreover, which is of Byzantine date, does not exactly fit the head of the Theologian, in its present form, suggesting either that the original icon was replaced by one like it, or that the original was overpainted in the 15th century; the latter hypothesis seems the more likely. On the basis of the above, I believe that this is the icon that was to be found in the monastery as early as 1200.

The metal sheets and enamel can be dated fairly securely to the 11th-12th centuries. The 'cloisonné' enamel and the lettering of the text in the book point rather to the 12th century.

This venerable icon did not meet with wide acceptance, and only a few faithful copies have been located – one on Siphnos, from the 15th century, one on Santorini, and another, later icon in Polygyros, Chalkidiki.

SAINT THEODORE THE TIRO. c. 1200.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: 33 x 20.5 cm.
Originally a flat wooden panel, with no canvas. The wood was in such a bad condition, however, that the painted surface was transferred to cloth and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1960).

The saint is portrayed full-length and frontally, on a gold ground. In his right hand he is holding his sword, and in his left the empty scabbard (fig. 5). A huge, triangular, curving shield hangs on his back, suspended from his breast. He is wearing a panoply of Roman type, with a metal breastplate, indicated by the closely set gold striations. Below the breastplate can be seen a red, sleeved chiton, with gold embroidery at the border and cuffs. The black hose with gold decoration is worn beneath brown gaiters. His cloak, also black, is fastened on his chest with a clasp, and hangs over his back.

This type of Saint Theodore the Tiro, in which he holds a bared, upraised sword, rather than the lance, and carries this type of shield, is rare; parallels are to be found, before the 12th century, in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Kastoria, Ayios Nikolaos Kasnitzis in Kastoria, and a schist plaque in the Hermitage. It seems that representations of warrior saints at this period commonly aimed at a lifelike effect, portraying them 'standing at ease', with realistic, contemporary weapons. This conscious attempt at realistic portrayal, seen in the detailed description of the saint's equipment, and the three-dimensional treatment of the breastplate, hinting at an athletic body, can be found in 12th and 13th century works, and is part of the 'modern' art of this period.

The body is short, and the large head is supported on a short neck and narrow shoulders. The modelling of the face is painterly, involving the use of brushstrokes rather than lines, and no use is made of outlines; the emphasis is on a few, limited areas of light, worked with a few light brushstrokes. These features are associated with two icons dated to the 12th-13th centuries that were part of a Dodekaorton: the Raising of Lazarus (Athens) and the

Transfiguration (Hermitage Museum). The composition represents a notable attempt to achieve solid structure, in a well-built figure of a military officer wearing ostentatiously modern equipment.

All these features point to a date around 1200, and to a workshop of high quality, that was in touch with contemporary trends.

SAINT JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD. c. 1260-1270.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 91 cm., width 65 cm., thickness 3.5 cm.
Wood with a raised frame. The canvas covers the upper edge of the frame, which is a separate piece of wood. The representation was uncovered in 1963, when at least two layers of overpainting were removed (by the conserver, Ph. Zachariou). The icon was first seen at the Exhibition of Byzantine Art in Athens (1964).

The apostle James is portrayed in bust, turned slightly to his left (fig. 6). He is wearing a light red himation, with a violet chiton underneath it. His right hand projects from the open himation, though the left is still covered by the cloth; in them he holds a closed scroll – a reference to his epistles. At this point an incised hand holding a closed book can be made out beneath the painted surface; it seems that either the painter changed his mind, or the icon was originally intended to depict a different saint. At the right is a miniature bust of Christ holding a chalice and blessing the apostle. This supplementary scene is probably a reference to the tradition that James was chosen by Christ himself as the first bishop of Jerusalem. The reverse of the icon has a network of black and red lines; it is the only example of this kind of decoration.

The strong, closed figure of the apostle has a characteristic nobility, and a sense of harmony and rhythm. Its imposing power derives from the organisation of the scene: the modelling is broad, and the drapery rhythmic, its wide curves gently framing the vertical axis, which is strongly emphasised by the use of dark tones. The treatment, moreover, has a tendency towards the three-dimensional, with gentle gradations of tone within the same colour, and there are strong classical reminiscences; these features, together with its affinity with some outstanding contemporary wall paintings at Moratsa (1260) and Sopočani (1265) suggest that this rare icon should be attributed to Constantinopolitan circles, immediately after 1261.

SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST. 1480-1500.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, chapel of Saint Nicholas.
Dimensions: height 105 cm., width 69.5 cm., thickness 2.7 cm.
Wood without canvas. The panel originally had a wooden frame nailed to it, which is now lost. The icon has not been conserved, but is in a fairly good state of preservation. It seems to have been washed at some point, causing the colours to fade.

Saint John 'the Forerunner' is portrayed frontally and full-length, without wings, wearing a melote (sheepskin) and a himation, skilfully wrapped around him. He is blessing, and holds an open scroll with a text, and a thin wooden rod terminating in a cross (figs. 7-8). At the top of the icon, in a quarter-circle representing the heaven, is a miniature of Christ, blessing,

while at the bottom can be seen the head of the Forerunner in a metal bowl – a reference to the festival of the second Invention of the Head of John the Baptist.

The striking, rocky, desert landscape has small trees towards the bottom, with the axe, a symbol connected with Saint John in the gospel stories, leaning against one of them.

The incorrectly spelt dedicatory inscription next to the Saint's feet informs us that the icon is Δ(ΕΗΣΙΣ) ΤΟΥ̃ ΔΟΎΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ̃ ΘΕΟΥ̃ ΚΙΡ. ΛΟΥ̃(ΚΑ) ΤΟΥΤΖΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΑΝΙΣ ΚΑΊ ΤΗ̃Σ ΣΗΝΒΊΟΥ ΑῪΤΟΥ̃ ΕΥΚΟΔΉΑΣ (the prayer of the servant of the Lord, Kir. Loukas Toutzias, son of Ioannis, and his wife Eudokia).

The reverse of the icon has an inauguration cross with leaves, red branches, and the abbreviations, in red letters: ΙΣ̃ ΧΣ̃ ΝΙΚΑ Φ(ΩΣ) Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΥ) Φ(ΑΊΝΕΙ) Π(ΑΣΙ) (Jesus Christ conquers. The Light of Christ Shines on All).

The art of the Baptist is of a different style from the majority of icons of this period in the Monastery, which belong to Cretan painting. The difference extends to the portrait type, and the greater freedom in the brushwork, which gives the expression a dramatic quality. The hand is tenderly modelled, the slender figure has an elegant pose, and the edge of the garment is lifted by a gentle breeze. All these features point closely to a Paleologan model. The high quality of the art is also to be seen in the way the landscape moves to the right, in rhythmic harmony with the movement of the drapery.

It is my belief that this more painterly manner coexisted with the more linear manner of A.Ritzos, which in the end prevailed.

THE CRUCIFIXION. First half of the 15th century.

Monastery of the Evangelismos, treasury.
Dimensions: height 33.5 cm., width 26.5 cm., thickness 2 cm.
Wood with a raised frame; no canvas. In a good state of preservation. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1960).

This unusual type of the Crucifixion (fig. 9), which includes the descriptions in the four gospels in a synoptic, narrative manner, had already crystallised by the Paleologan period, and continued to be found in the 16th century. It depicts John, with the Virgin and a group of women on the left, and on the right a large group of Jews behind and around the centurion, one of whom is mocking Christ. Below them is a representation of the Division of the Clothes, and the walls of Jerusalem can be seen in the background. The rocky landscape is relieved by a few bushes at the bottom. The main characteristics of the type are its sense of drama and the tendency towards anecdotal narrative, with a large number of figures.

Structurally, the composition is organised around two clearly apparent triangles: a large one at the top, ending in the figure of the Crucified Christ, and another at the bottom, in the scene of the Division of the Clothes. These form a framework, culminating in the dominant vertical of the cross (though this is not set on the axis), around which the composition is articulated. Within it the figures are disposed in dramatic, yet mild contrasts, as in the tall, slender form of the Virgin, and the strong curve of the back of the grieving John, counterbalancing the gentle curve of the dead Christ; there is continuous movement and counter-movement of the heads, and the poses are varied, yet restrained. The sense of space is achieved by the device commonly found in Paleologan art: the planes (in this case the rows of faces and the folds of the walls) are separated vertically to imply depth.

A major feature of the modelling of the figures is the use made of light colours, in delicate harmonies. The tones are predominantly warm, lit by white brush-strokes (fleeting lights)

and gold striations on the clothes, and there is no attempt to trace the outlines or the features of the faces. The gold pseudo-kufic decoration on the clothes worn by the Jews is of interest.

The same use of colour and the same manners are to be found in works of the second half of the 14th, and the 15th centuries. There are particular affinities with the Athens codex 2603, of 1418, which is connected with the Monastery of the Hodegon in Constantinople; this not only has similar round, child-like faces, with a dark spot for the pupil of the eye, but the 'painterly' manner is the same. The icon has a particular affinity with the Crucifixion on the Reliquary of Bessarion, evidence that the two derived the type from the same model, of high quality.

This, and the following icon probably belonged to a Dodekaorton group and may be attributed to the same painter, in the first half of the 15th century.

THE DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN. First half of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 32 cm., width 24 cm.
Wood with a raised frame. No canvas. In a good state of preservation. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1963).

The icon fairly certainly belonged to the same Dodekaorton as the Crucifixion, and was perhaps by the same painter (figs. 10-12).

The scene has a solid, closed structure. The dominating theme is the contrast between the horizontal and the vertical, producing an austere, compact composition. There is a suggestion of a triangle, with its apex at the six-winged seraph at the top of the vertical axis formed by the figure of Christ. The horizontal axis is indicated by the Virgin's bed, and also by the line of the buildings at the top. The apostles are thus confined to the sides, in restrained poses.

The composition has a number of features going back to a pre-Paleologan model, which survived into Paleologan times: the tendency to simplification, the use of different sizes for the figures, according to their importance, the over-emphasis on the figure of Christ, the omission of the episode of the angel and Jephonias, the tenderness in the inclined head, and finally the confined, closed space. This wise, 'archaising' composition is executed in a painterly manner. The predominant colour is green, in a variety of subtle tints harmonising with the violet tones of the buildings; there is a limited use of red. The bright yellow-brown of Christ's garment, together with the gold rays of the glory illuminate the entire icon.

The icon may be assigned to the Cretan cycle of the first half of the 15th century, judging by the Gothic buildings, with their three-dimensionally rendered facades, cornices and late Gothic lunettes, which were a common feature of the painting of this period in Crete. Another element in favour of this view is the pseudo-kufic decoration on the cover of the Virgin's bed, which was a hallmark of Cretan icons in the 15th century.

SAINT NICHOLAS. First half of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 1 m., width 52 cm.
Since the icon was in a badly damaged condition, and the wood completely decomposed, the

painted surface was transferred to canvas and cleaned by Ph.Zachariou, in 1957. The dimensions cited refer to the preserved surface. In the original, the ratio of height to width was different: the icon was much wider, since a small part of the right arm and elbow, and the whole of the left arm, are now lost. Most of the gold background at the top has also been lost, and there is no trace of an inscription.

Saint Nicholas is portrayed at half-length, blessing with his right hand and holding a closed book adorned with precious stones in his left (fig. 13).

The saint is not portrayed frontally, as in the usual type, but has his head turned slightly to his left, in a manner that continues an earlier tradition. This is achieved by a deliberate assymetry in the structure of the face, in which the left part of the head is larger, and the nose is curved and not set on the vertical axis of the face. The effect is heightened by the nervous contraction of the wrinkles on the forehead, and the movement of the hair. All these small movements are expressed by means of fleeting highlights. The calm, inner movement of the representation derives in part from the modelling technique, which is executed in a painterly manner. The facial characteristics are rendered by the use of parallel white brush-strokes, nervously and quickly applied on the dark brown underpaint to produce shadow and light. This painterly manner is known from 14th century monuments (Monastery of Chora in Constantinople) and continues, in a more expressive fashion, in the 15th century (the Pantanassa at Mystras 1428). These features, together with the stylised drapery, date the icon to the first half of the 15th century.

SAINT NICHOLAS AND SCENES FROM HIS LIFE. Middle of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 72 cm., width 53 cm., thickness 3 to 4 cm.
Single, flat piece of wood, with no canvas. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1960).

The central panel has a representation of Saint Nicholas in bust, around which are twelve scenes from his life (fig. 15): the birth of the saint; the saint at school; the saint saving the three girls from prostitution, the ordination of the saint as deacon, priest and bishop; the dream of Constantine the Great; the saint healing the man possessed (a miracle performed by his namesake, Saint Nicholas Sionites), the saint driving out the demon by cutting the tree; the saint saving the three innocents from the executioner; the saint saving the ship; and finally, the three generals in prison. Inscriptions in red and black letters, both capitals and small letters, indicate the saints' names and the scenes.

The central figure is a variation of the familiar facial type of the saint; he is holding a book and blessing. Next to him are miniature busts of Christ and the Virgin proffering him the insignia of his priesthood. The portrayal of the saint here is not particularly noble; he has small eyes, and his tight mouth and densely wrinkled face have an expression of displeasure; a parallel for this is to be found on a sanctuary door from Patmos and in a wall painting at Abdou in Crete (1445).

The iconographic elements are commonly used from the 11th century onwards. The realistic details, such as the teacher's hat, or the type of ship, are of some importance. The execution, both in the central panel and the scenes from his life, is very careful, and makes use of techniques that point to the 15th century. In the small scenes, there is a certain simplification that gives them a more painterly feeling, and we may note the harmonious use of colour, based on the unity of tones. Finally, the buildings have some similarities with the

Escorial codex 19 (R.I.19), depicting the Akathistos Hymnos, which I have attributed to Crete.

The figures of Christ and the Virgin on the gold background are painted concisely and free-hand, revealing a competent hand, practised at drawing.

On the basis of these features we may attribute the icon to Crete, between 1430 and 1460.

THE VIRGIN AND SAINT CATHERINE, by Angelos.
Second half of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury (presented by the family of Ekaterina Stavridou, née Miaouli).
Dimensions: height 64.5 cm., width 48 cm., thickness 3 cm.
Wood, without canvas. The icon is damaged: a small piece of the panel is lost, together with part of the face and the left shoulder of the Virgin, and part of the figure of the infant Christ. Also, to the right of Saint Catherine and above her diadem there is a crack running down the icon which has caused some damage. Repaired and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1958; Benaki Museum Laboratory, 1983).

The subject is associated with Mount Sinai. It depicts not only the patron saint of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai, but also the Virgin in the type of the Nikopoios, which occurs in icons in Sinai known as 'tis Vatou' icons, from the chapel of the 'unburnt bush'. At the bottom right is the signature: ΧΕΙΡ ΄ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ (the hand of Angelos) (fig. 16). We know from the will of the priest Grigorios Maras (1700) that Angelos painted an icon with this subject, which Maras bequeathed to a priest in Ancona.

The painter Angelos was one of the most famous Cretan artists of his period, and one of the founders of post-Byzantine Cretan painting. The high quality of his art, the painterly modelling, the love of detail in the dress, and other features bring him close to the painters of the 15th century. (It has been suggested that he is to be identified with Angelos Akotantos (testament 1436); the signature and date, 'χειρ ΄Αγγέλου τοῦ Κρητός, 1604' on an icon in Cairo gave rise at one point to the erroneous assignment of Angelos to the 17th century: this signature seems likely to have been added by Ioannis Kornaros, in the 18th century.)

The Patmos icon is perfectly executed, with soft graded modelling and long, fine highlights, and the figures have an aristocratic nobility; all of these are characteristic features of the art of Angelos.

THE EMBRACING OF PETER AND PAUL, by Angelos (?).
Last decades of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: diameter 41.5 cm., thickness 2.5 cm.
Circular wooden panel with a raised frame; no canvas. It is in a good state of preservation, with some damage to the frame at the top right, and cracks on the surface. It has not been conserved and cleaned.

The embracing of the two leading apostles, Peter and Paul symbolises ecumenical peace, and is also a reference to the kissing of the priests during the Holy Liturgy; the subject is known from an early period in Byzantine art. It is one of the few motifs that were trans-

ferred to a tondo, the full-length representations being converted into busts in the process: the two faces of the apostles are shown touching, though they are not looking at each other; Peter's right hand rests in friendship on Paul's shoulder, and his left hand can just be seen behind Paul's neck (fig. 14). Paul's right hand is in a similar position, while his left hand is not seen; the result is a perfectly balanced, closed composition, suited to the circular shape of the panel. The earliest example is the icon in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (middle of the 15th century), and there are others in the Monastery of Topla in Herzegovina, in Sinai, in the Krimbas private collection, in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Budapest, and finally, in a rectangular panel in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. All these date from the 15th century, to which period the Patmos icon may also be assigned. This is supported by the almost geometric drapery, which has only a few, very gentle curves, and the way the lit surfaces are limited to narrow zones. There is a close affinity with the work of Angelos, who produced two signed icons with this subject, though with the apostles portrayed full-length, one in the Monastery of the Hodegetria in Crete and one in Zakynthos, now destroyed by fire, and the Patmos icon may therefore be associated with the signed works of this well-known, controversial artist.

CHRIST PANTOKRATOR – THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED, by Andreas Ritzos.
Second half of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Christ: Dimensions: height 165 cm., width 91 cm.
The icon has suffered serious damage throughout its whole length, on a line from the right side of the head to the bottom. Since the wood was in such bad condition, the painted surface, together with the canvas, was transferred to a different cloth and given a suitable frame. The work was carried out by Ph.Zachariou in 1957.
The Virgin: Dimensions: height 164 cm., width 90 cm., thickness 3.2 cm. Wood with canvas and a raised frame. It is in a good state of preservation, and was conserved and cleaned in 1963 (Ph.Zachariou).

These two large icons are from the 15th century iconostasis in the katholikon of the Monastery. They depict Christ and the Virgin, enthroned (figs. 17 and 18). Both bear the signature ΧΕΙΡ 'ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΡΙΤΖΟΥ (the hand of Andreas Ritzos), the famous painter who worked in Heraklion, Crete, in the second half of the 15th century (the last reference to him is in 1492). The inclusion of the miniature busts of Saint John the Theologian (fig. 20) and Hosios Christodoulos in these two large-scale icons is evidence that they were destined from the beginning for the iconostasis in the katholikon of the Monastery on Patmos.

The representation of Christ enthroned is stylistically consistent, all the elements of which it is composed belonging to the same painting tradition of the Paleologan period. Christ's body is depicted frontally, and despite the fact that this is an official pose, has a slender, graceful quality; the wooden throne, too, all golden highlights, also belongs to this tradition. The calm, handsome, imposing figure has been rendered in a clearly sculptural manner, in the Paleologan style, with small lines of highlight drawn tenderly on the yellow-brown flesh. The tonal transitions are soft, with no strong contrasts, and the volumes are clearly delineated in an easy, tranquil manner.

In the composition of the Virgin, by contrast, although the figure has the same origin and the same qualities as that of Christ, the marble throne, flawlessly drawn, is a motif taken from the early Italian Renaissance; as a result, the rather flat figure of the Byzantine Virgin

sits somewhat uneasily on the strongly three-dimensional throne. We may note that this type of throne, with the marble, Venetian-style inlays, was commonly used by the Cretan painters of the period, and perhaps by Andreas Ritzos himself, in 'Italo-Cretan' icons of he Virgin. Nonetheless, combinations of style like this must have appealed to the shared taste of a certain class at least, since painters contemporary with Ritzos, and also his successors, continued to use these types, which were apparently created by him.

The cushions on which Christ and the Virgin are sitting are adorned with braids with pseudo-kufic decoration, a motif common in Cretan icons of the period.

TWO PANAGIARIA, by Nikolaos Ritzos (?). End of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: a) closed, diameter 15.5 cm., open 32.5 cm., depth: 5.5 cm. b) closed, diameter 15.5 cm., open 31 cm., depth: 4.5 cm. Each of the panagiaria consists of two wooden hemispheres with off-set raised edges. They are in a good state of preservation, and have not been conserved and cleaned.

Panagiaria were, and still are, used to hold the Virgin's portion of the bread from the Melismos (the apportioning of bread for the Virgin); they were also used during the ceremony of the 'Elevation of the Virgin', which was celebrated in the refectory of coenobitic monasteries. The hymns inscribed on both these panagiaria were sung during this ceremony.

The first panagiarion has the Virgin between two angels venerating her on one half and the Hospitality of Abraham on the other (fig. 21). The second has the Virgin Vlachernitissa and Christ as High Priest.

The two panagiaria share a common origin, coming from the same workshop, though they were not painted by the same painter. The features they have in common are the superbly executed miniature paintings, with simple, bright colours, delicate gold-webbing, and delicate chiaroscuro, and the typically Cretan modelling, with a restricted use of areas of light. They are separated by their style: the first is more painterly, with expressive faces, while the second is more conventional and linear in its treatment.

Only the first panagiarion has any interesting iconographic features: the Virgin and the venerating angels recall the type of the Platytera found in Sanctuary apses, though it also occurs in 15th century icons. The scene of the Holy Trinity follows a Paleologan model, though retaining a number of pre-Paleologan elements, such as the dominating figure of the angel in the middle, whose halo has an inscribed cross, indicating that he is Christ. Parallels are to be found in icons by Andreas Ritzos (the Virgin in the Benaki Museum and the Assumption in the Museum of Fine Arts, Tokyo)

The comparison with the work of Andreas Ritzos suggests that the two panagiaria may possibly be connected with an archival source: in 1499, an order was placed with the workshop of Andreas Ritzos' son, Nikolaos, by a monk from Mount Sinai, for a number of panagiaria, one of which was destined for the monastery on Patmos. They may thus not only be dated to the end of the 15th century, but also attributed to the workshop of Nikolaos Ritzos.

SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN. *c.* 1500.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 96,5 cm., width 60 cm. at the top and 55 cm. at the bottom, thickness 2.8 cm.

Wooden panel with a raised frame; no canvas. The icon is in a good state of preservation and has been conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1960). It has an arched top and narrows towards the bottom; this irregular shape indicates that the icon was made for a specific position that we cannot now determine. It is a single panel of hard wood (olive?) and the rear has been dressed and has no cross-pieces. The layer of gesso is very thin, and the painting covers part of the frame.

The Theologian is shown in bust, turned to his left and holding a half-open book with a text (fig. 19). He is gazing intently at the worshipper. In his right arm he holds the ink pot and a case for the pens. The type is known from Paleologan icons and miniatures. The peculiarities in this icon – the Theologian holds the ink pot in his right arm, though the pen, which should presumably have been in the left, is not shown – derive from the fact that the prototype has been reversed; this initiative was not taken by the present painter, for it is already known in an icon properly attributed to Andreas Ritzos: the triple icon at Bari.

The Theologian is depicted as the wise writer, the erudite man of some years, with prestige and authority, which are expressed mainly through the large head and wide, high forehead, and the sturdy neck and big body. The type reflects the voluminous style of 1300, and continued in the 16th century in the icons by Euphrosynos the priest, rather than in those of his contemporary Theophanis. It is linked with the art of Andreas Ritzos by the flawless modelling, the linear drapery, and the particularly sensitive treatment of the fingers. The icon may therefore probably be attributed to Crete, either close to or after Ritzos, about 1500.

The contrast is striking between the high quality of the painting and the poor material and lack of canvas and gold in the background, even in the halo, and the roughness with which the wood was worked into its somewhat irregular shape. The probable explanation is that the icon was produced on Patmos by a Cretan painter, and that the monastery supplied the materials.

THE MIRACLE OF SAINT MICHAEL AT CHONAE. c. 1500.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 29.8 cm., width 24.8 cm., thickness 2.2 cm.
Wood with a raised border, without canvas. Conserved by Ph. Zachariou.

The archangel Michael is shown against a background of mountains, steeply stepped in the Byzantine manner, and a temple with a dome and a small pediment over the entrance. He has a large, yet graceful body, and is vigorously using his pole to divert the waters of the river, with the monk Archippos praying reverently (fig. 24).

The scene depicted is the miracle worked by Michael at Chonae in Asia Minor. To rescue his church from the river turned against the latter by pagans ('Hellenizontes'), he used his pole to open a fissure in the ground in which the river was 'swallowed up'. The subject is known iconographically from the 10th century (Menologion of Basil II, of 980), and finds a very close parallel in a Paleologan icon in Jerusalem. The scene in the present icon, however, has a classical tranquility, and the chiaroscuro is rendered in a very linear manner. Both these features are found in early Cretan works, and the icon may therefore be assigned to around 1500, a date consistent with the delicate gold-webbing and the overly sweet tenderness in the angel's expression.

CHRIST: THE MAN OF SORROW, by Nikolaos Tzafouris (?). 1480-1500.

Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, Sanctuary of the katholikon.
Dimensions: height 77 cm., width 56.5 cm., thickness 2 cm.
Flat wooden panel, without canvas, warped. The damaged wood was conserved and the icon cleaned in the laboratory of the Byzantine Museum (S. Baltoyannis, 1964).

The theme depicted in this icon, which is also known as the 'Akra Tapeinosis' (=Extreme Humiliation), is a creation of Byzantine art. Here, however, it is rendered as formulated in Northern Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries and continued by the 'ambidextrous' Cretan painters of the 15th and 16th centuries. Christ is portrayed naked, standing in a sarcophagus with his arms outstretched towards the corners and wearing a crown of thorns (fig. 22). The icon is closely related from every point of view to a signed icon by Nikolaos Tzafouris (attested 1480-1500) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; the only difference is in the position of the hands. The almost monochrome modelling and the unusual anatomy of the torso may be traced to earlier techniques and Italian styles.

Two exceptionally fine features of this icon are the wonderfully precise incised design of the halo and the minute detail in the drawing of the hair and the crown of thorns; these are the qualities that make the works of this famous early Cretan painter such fine pieces of craftsmanship. The same qualities are also to be found in his icons in the Byzantine style.

DOUBLE ICON: THE RAISING OF LAZARUS AND
THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.
End of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 34.5 cm., width 22.4 cm., thickness 2 cm.
Flat wooden panel, without canvas. In a good state of preservation. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1963 and 1977).

The icon has two scenes from the Dodekaorton, the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem, set in two registers (fig. 23). Both are tight, geometrical compositions, the first divided into three triangles and the second into a triangle and a parallelogram. The composition is simple and austere, echoing icons with these themes from the Paleologan period; it is informed, however, by a spirit of order and a rejection of graphic, charming elements, such as large numbers of children, a great variety of clothing, and excessive detail in the landscape.

This new 'classical' and 'austere' spirit was formulated in the 15th century in early Cretan works. The characteristic features of these are the soft modelling, with limited areas of light, and their echoes of Italian perspective; in these they differ from 16th century Cretan works, which are more schematic and less painterly.

These features, together with the amazing similarity with a miniature representation of the subject on the frame of an icon with the Great Deesis by Nikolaos Ritzos, in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, suggest that the iconographic scheme, at least, should be attributed to Nikolaos' father, Andreas Ritzos. A more precise date at the end of the 15th century is confirmed by other elements, common to Cretan icons of the 15th century: the pseudo-kufic decoration of the clothes, and more importantly, the exceptional quality of

the painting, seen not only in the composition, but also in the delicate design of the slender figures with their elegant drapery and, above all, in the brilliant colours.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE. End of the 15th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, abbot's residence.
Dimensions: height 32.4 cm., width 25.1 cm., thickness 2 cm.
Flat wooden panel, without canvas or frame. It is in a good state of preservation with slight damage to the bottom edge. The red border is a later addition.

This is a superb icon, with an austere, rhythmical structure that is not disturbed by the setting of the main vertical axis slightly to the right of centre (fig. 25). The figures are tall and supple, full of grace and nobility. They are precisely executed in a manner that tends towards the painterly, with small, soft highlights, and slight red reflections in the cheeks; the drapery of the gleaming garments, however, is as usual more linear. The sensitive use of colour, a feature of Paleologan art, can be seen here in the alternating combinations of green and yellow, green and bright red, and greyish green and purple, all of them shining like enamel.

The hieratic composition is relieved by the two small birds pecking the ground at the feet of Joseph and the Virgin and the impressive buildings in the background, with an imposing, lavishly decorated ciborium between them. The two-handled vase on top of the building at the right is an unrealistic element that lends the scene a sense of sacred drama.

The type follows the iconography of its period: Christ in the arms of Symeon is the common type from the 14th century onwards. A direct parallel can be found in the miniature on the frame of an icon of the Deesis by Nikolaos Ritzos in Sarajevo (end of the 15th century), and in an icon in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, that has been connected with Ritzos. The high quality of the painting attests to a competent artist. The relation of the icon to the above works, taken together with certain differences from important 16th century works like those of Theophanes († 1559), suggest that he was close to the two Ritzos'. The dating of the icon to the end of the 15th century is thus confirmed.

SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN DICTATING TO PROCHOROS.
Middle of the 16th century.

Chora, church of Ayia Ekaterina.
Dimensions: height 49.5 cm., width 60 cm., thickness 1.5 cm.
Flat wooden panel with canvas.It is in a good state of preservation, with some damage to the colours. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1977).

The Theologian is seated at the left, in the cave on Patmos, dictating to the young Prochoros, who is sitting opposite him and writing. Between them is a tall reading-desk (fig. 26).

As rendered in this icon, the subject has a number of unusual features. The composition has a certain archaising character, deriving from the gesture of the two hands in dictation; the more common type at the period of the icon has the Theologian deep in thought with his head resting on his hand, as in the dome of the Monastery of Stavronikita, painted by the Cretan artist Theophanes (1546). The head of the Theologian is turned backwards towards the hand of God, in a pose typical of the composition, but he is at the same time directing a

deeply expressive gaze towards the worshipper. There is a certain freedom in the way his feet project over the border of the picture. Another unusual feature is the use of black in the saint's himation.

The formation of the rock is static, with no large projections to suggest movement. The entire composition is thus very geometric, and the drapery is rendered in the same spirit, with graded bands of colour and a preference for sharp angles. This is one of the reasons that the icon may be dated to the middle of the 16th century.

DOUBLE ICON: THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN AND
THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE
By Michael Damaskinos. c. 1582-1592/3.

Monastery of the Evangelismos.
Dimensions: height 87 cm., width 67 cm.
Wood with canvas. Because the wood had rotted and the painted surface had suffered much damage, the latter was transferred to a new canvas on a frame, and the gaps were filled with a neutral colour (Ph.Zachariou, 1960).

The icon is divided into two registers, with a scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple at the top, and the Presentation of Christ at the bottom (fig. 27). On the Sanctuary step in the upper scene is the signature: ΧΕΙΡ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΟΥ (the hand of Michael Damaskinos).

The Presentation of the Virgin is the earlier iconographic type, found in the Menologion of Basil and at Daphni, in which the parents of the Virgin are in front of her friends; in many works of art from the Paleologan period, the girls with their torches come first. In the Presentation of Christ, the type is that established in the 15th and 16th centuries; the setting is new, however, with the two pseudo-Renaissance buildings at the sides, connected by a long, low horizontal wall. Despite these innovations, Damaskinos reveals himself a true Cretan in both scenes, both in the overall arrangement, and in the drapery and modelling of the figures. He departs from contemporary icons in that the overall treatment is more painterly, at the expense of line, and in the palette he uses, with predominantly light, almost translucent colours in lambent tones. We should note, too, the monochrome work on the Sanctuary panels in which Michael Damaskinos excels.

The new manner in which the group of maidens is depicted is of interest: the tender girls with their Pompeian grace are the clearest indication that Damaskinos intended to produce a work not far removed from a good Paleologan model (fig. 28). Given his knowledge of 'naturalist' painting, however, Damaskinos reinforces this Paleologan grace with a more organic structure of the body, of Renaissance inspiration; this and the lyricism of the design and the colour tints contribute to one of his most successful compositions.

Michael Damaskinos († 1592/3), the most important Cretan icon painter in the second half of the 16th century, reveals in this work an artistic maturity that suggests it should be dated to the last decade of his life (1582-1592/3).

TRIPTYCH, by Georgios Klontzas. c. 1596.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions. Overall: width 45.5 cm. Central panel: height 30.5 cm.(without frame, 17.8

cm.), width 15 cm. (without frame 12.5 cm.). Left wing: height 18.7 cm., width 14 cm. Right wing: height 19.8 cm., width 14.5 cm. Thickness of leaves 0.5 cm.
Wood without canvas. In a very good state of preservation, apart from the scene of the Last Judgment. The carved crown and base of the central panel were painted an olive green colour at a more recent period.

One of the many triptychs painted by the famous Cretan artist Georgios Klontzas († 1608) (figs. 29-34).

Inside the triptych, the top part of the central panel has a representation of Christ seated on a throne and flanked by the four symbols of the Evangelists. The rest of the central panel, and the two wings are decorated with a continuous series of scenes from the Dodekaorton. The outside of the right wing has four miniatures illustrating the four passages from the Gospel that are read after Easter. On the outside of the central panel is a representation of the Discovery of the Holy Cross, and the left wing has a badly preserved scene of the Last Judgment. This reverse side has the metrical signature and dedication of the artist at the bottom left of the central panel: ΓΕΩΡΓΊΟΥ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΛΌΤΖΑ ΤΆΔ' 'ΕΓΕΓΡΑΦΕΙ Ὁ Δ' ΑΫ́ ΛΑΒΏΝ ΜΈΜΝΗΣΟ ΚΑΜΟΥ̃ ΠΡΟΦΡΌΝΩΣ.

The prominent position occupied by the scene of the Discovery of the Holy Cross is possibly connected with the fact that the triptych was destined for the chapel of the Holy Cross in the monastery, which is said to have been built by the Cretan abbot Nikephoros Chartophylax (1596), the most important figure in the monastery at this period. The triptych was probably intended as a gift for him.

In the composition of the scenes from the Dodekaorton, Klontzas follows the traditional types of Cretan icons of the period. The scenes on the reverse, however, depend more closely on Italian models. The artist's miniature technique is seen to good effect in this work, with his typically graceful compositions and figures and brilliant drapery. His striving for originality, which had a marked influence on later painters, is not so pronounced here. The individual features are combined with a subtlety suggesting that the work belongs to the painter's maturity.

THE REVELATION – THE VISION OF SAINT JOHN
By Thomas Vathys or Vathas. c. 1596.

Monastery of the Revelation, chapel of Saint John, on the iconostasis in the cave.
Dimensions: height 170 cm., width 116 cm.
Flat wooden panel without canvas. In a good state of preservation. The later silver haloes of the figures of God, the angels and Saint John were removed when the icon was conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1977).

The icon depicts John's vision, a subject taken from the *Revelation* (1, 9-20), and rare in portable icons (figs. 35-36). Its large scale gives it the monumental quality of a wall painting, and we may note that at his period wall paintings were rare in Crete, large icons being used in their place; the Patmos icon perhaps belongs to this category.

At the bottom right is preserved the incorrectly spelt signature of the artist: ΠΊΥΜΑ ΤΩΜΊΟΥ ΒΑΘΈΟΣ modelled on the signature of Michael Damaskinos. Thomas Vathas was from a family of Cretan painters called Bathas. He worked on Corfu and, in 1587, he settled in Venice, where he died in 1599.

At the bottom of the icon, Saint John the Theologian is lying on a cloud, in an

uncomfortable position 'as dead' (1, 17), to indicate the strong impression made on him by his terrible vision, depicted at the top: God, portrayed as a striking, aged figure, is seated in an arch of cherubim. His outstretched right hand is surrounded by seven stars; a double-edged sword is suspended above his left hand, in which he holds two large keys, 'the keys of hell and of death' (1, 16). He is encircled by a red glory formed of the heads of small angels with wings. The glory in turn is enclosed by seven large angels, kneeling on clouds, each holding one of the seven churches. In the foreground, at the bottom of this scene, are seven massive candlesticks: 'The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches' (1, 20). It is doubtful whether Thomas Vathas was the creator of this original composition, although no earlier version is known. Apocalyptic scenes are rare in Byzantine painting, though the same subject occurs in 1415 in a miniature painted in Heraklion (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore – Olschki manuscript – Ms. W. 335). In Vathas' icon, the reclining figure of the Theologian belongs to the repertoire of post-Byzantine painting, and the scene of God and the supplementary motifs are derived from an engraving by Dürer, of 1498.

Apart from this, there is a clear relationship between Vathas' painting and works by Michael Damaskinos; this is particularly clear in the figures of the angels holding the churches, and the spirit in which traditional and imported elements are combined. The composition does not seem to have spread very widely; the only copy is on Patmos (1626). The icon was executed in Venice, probably after a commission by the monastery, and may be connected with the journey there in 1596 of Parthenios Pangostas, the builder of the Church of the Revelation.

DEESIS WITH SAINT ANDREW AND SAINT PARASKEVI
By Ioannis Apakas, the priest. c. 1600.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury. From a metochion on the small island of Leipso.
Dimensions: height 35.3 cm., width 30 cm., thickness 1.8 cm.
The icon still has its original carved, gilded and painted frame, of Venetian Renaissance type. It is not in a good state of preservation: a large crack at the right has destroyed part of the face and body of Saint Paraskevi, and the painted surface has suffered damage at many points from other causes. The icon has been repaired and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1974).

This unusual icon was commissioned for the bishop's throne of a church that was perhaps dedicated to one of the two saints; it is the work of Ioannis Apakas the priest, as is clear from the signature at the feet of Saint Andrew: + ΧΕΊΡ ΙΕΡΈΩΣ ΙΩ(ΆΝΝΟΥ) ΆΠΑΚΑ̃ (figs. 39-40). The painter is known from icons on Siphnos, in Venice, at the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, and in Dalmatia.

The Deesis is a copy of the same scene from the icon by Nikolaos Ritzos in Sarajevo: here too, we have Christ enthroned (the only difference is the carved wooden decoration of the throne), blessing and resting a Gospel book, open at a text, on his knees. He is flanked by the tall, slender figures of Saint Andrew, holding an open book with a text, and Saint Paraskevi, with the martyr's cross. Stylistically, too, the icon follows the technique of Nikolaos Ritzos; this can be seen in the limited use of areas of light, the dense, fine lines of light in the faces, and the miniature technique, though the drawing is rather dry.

Despite the general conservatism of the priest-painter, the Patmos icon reveals a fine

sensitivity to colour. The artist is known from other, undated works, that place him in a Cretan environment (with which his Cretan name is consistent), after 1600.

THE THREE CHURCH FATHERS

By Jeremiah Palladas. First half of the 17th century.

Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, abbot's residence. (Presented by the Anyphandis family in 1920).
Dimensions: height 45 cm., width 40 cm., thickness 2 cm.
Flat wooden panel, without canvas. It is in a good state of preservation, though it has not been conserved or cleaned. The silver haloes are later additions.

The Three Church Fathers are depicted full-length and frontally (fig. 38). Gregory, however, is turning his head to his left, breaking the rhythmic unity to which the original aspired, with its identical repetition of gesture in the three figures – the right hand blessing and the left holding the closed book. The central of the three repeated figures, depicting Saint John Chrysostomos, differs somewhat: the hand in which he is holding the book is covered with the stole as well as the phelonion, and his weight is on the opposite foot to the two others.

The signature of the painter, Jeremiah Palladas (attested 1612-1645) is at the bottom right: ΧΕΙΡ ΄ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ. He is conservatively following models of the 15th-16th century, though he adds some new elements, like the decoration of crosses on the phelonia, which is executed without reference to the folds of the drapery; this is a feature also found in the works of Michael Damaskinos († 1592/3) and Georgios Klontzas († 1608).

The icon is meticulously executed, as can be seen in the finely worked modelling of the faces, and also in the drapery. The introduction into a high liturgical subject of modernising elements may be seen as the influence of Baroque, here filtered through the particular sensitivity of a supremely conservative painter, who was a successor to Michael Damaskinos.

SAINT JOHN THE HERMIT AND SCENES FROM HIS LIFE

First decades of the 17th century.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury. (Presented by Anna Phokianou).
Dimensions: height 39.5 cm., width 48.5 cm., thickness 2.2 cm.
Flat wooden panel without canvas. In a good state of preservation. There is a very small crack in the left side. Not conserved and cleaned.

John the Hermit is the local saint of Crete; he is worshipped at the Monastery of Gderneto, near Chania. The cave in which traces of his blood are preserved, according to the 'life' of the saint, is in this monastery. He is shown full-length, holding a cross, his left hand extended in a gesture of veneration (fig. 37). In the background are the high mountains of Crete and a narrow strait. Scenes from his life are scattered around him, without frames, starting in the top right corner and finishing at the top left. The mast of a ship is coming into view from behind the rock at the top right; this was either the boat that brought the saint and 99 fellow monks from Attaleia in Asia Minor to Gavdos, or the one that carried the monks from Gavdos to Crete, leaving the saint behind: he is depicted lower down with a monk on the opposite bank calling to him. The saint, using his cassock as a raft, crosses to

Crete, where, however, he separated from his brother monks, who settled at Selino, and are portrayed at the bottom of the icon. At the bottom left the saint, now a hermit, crawling on all fours from weakness, is shot in mistake by a hunter wearing Frankish dress; above this, the hunter has fallen onto his knees and is begging forgiveness from the saint, who has an arrow in his chest. The top scene is the Dormition of the saint in the cave to which he withdrew to die.

The model for this icon is unknown. It should probably be sought in the 15th century; a similar icon in Corfu, signed by Jeremiah Palladas, cannot be regarded as the prototype. Nor can an icon with the Dormition of Efraim in the Vatican, by Emmanuel Tzanfournaris (attested 1570-1631), though the Patmos icon resembles it in style: Tzanfournaris, too, lacked the ability to create a composition like this.

Two interesting features of the icon are the relief halo, and the reminder at the bottom right that the festival of the saint was on the 6th October.

The icon probably belongs to the period when the worship of the saint was revived, at the end of the 16th – beginning of the 17th centuries; this is confirmed by the loose composition, the stylised drapery, and the flabby modelling of the faces. It should therefore be dated to the first decades of the 17th century, shortly before the date of the saint's festival was finally set as the 7th October by the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris in 1632.

THE ENTOMBMENT OF CHRIST. 1620-1645.

Chora, church of the Ipapandi, on the iconostasis.
Dimensions: height 42.5 cm., width 56.5 cm., thickness 2.5 cm.
Flat wooden panel with canvas. In a good state of preservation. The top left corner is broken, causing the paint to flake. There is some damage at the edges. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1977).

The subject, though known in Byzantine painting, is rarer in post-Byzantine art. It usually takes the form of a composition with only a few figures; one such representation, of Cretan origin, is the prototype of the present icon (fig. 41).

The Patmos icon was without doubt destined for the iconostasis, above the Royal Door, and depicts Joseph of Arimathaea, standing in the tomb-sarcophagus, ready to receive the body of Christ; this is wrapped in a linen shroud, and held by the stooping Virgin, John and Nicodemus. A group of women in the background are giving vent to their grief in the manner of the common people. In the foreground are two seated women with their backs turned, forming two dramatic figures. This motif is not unknown in Paleologan art, as can be seen from the mosaics in the Monastery of Chora in Constantinople.

The fact that this composition was enriched by the addition of so many figures is due to foreign influences; the same figures, even to the faceless mourning women, can be found in Northern Italy as early as the 14th century, in the works of Giotto, Lorenzetti and Simone Martini. The connecting link between the present icon and these motifs was no doubt provided by Italo-Cretan models.

The harsh modelling and drapery, and the brilliant, though harsh colours, point to the work of Konstantinos Paleokapas (1637), to whose time this icon should be dated, 1620-1645.

SAINT EUSTATHIOS AND SCENES FROM HIS LIFE. 1620-1640.

Chora, church of the Virgin Eleimonitria.
Dimensions: height 100 cm., width 61 cm., thickness 0.25 cm.

Flat wooden panel without canvas. In a good state of preservation, apart from a crack running from the top to the middle of the icon. The top and bottom edges have peeled away. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1977).

The saint is seated on a proud horse, dressed for a parade; he is wearing embroidered military dress, holds a lance pointing downwards, and is pulling the horse's bridle (fig. 43). The horse, startled by the apparition of Christ in the form of a stag with a cross between its horns, is stamping its hooves. The hand of God reaches forth in blessing from a quarter circle representing the heavens, which is disproportionately large for the composition. The icon depicts the moment of the saint's conversation with the stag, just after he recognises it as Christ; the non-frontal stance of the central figure of the saint argues in favour of this interpretation.

Seven scenes from the life of Saint Eustathios are depicted on the gold background. They are placed haphazardly, wherever there was space, and with no attention to the order of the narrative – a technique not uncommon in icons. The baptism of the saint and his family is at the bottom left, and next to it the episode with the wicked captain, who is holding the saint's wife (fig. 42), while the saint himself and his children escape; in the narrative, this is followed by the scene at the centre right, of the saint being swept away by the river, while wild beasts attack his children; just above this is the recognition of the saint by the soldiers; the life continues in the centre at the top, where the saint's children serve at his table; to the left of this is a scene of the reunion and recognition of the family; and finally, at the bottom right is the martyrdom of the saint and his family in the red-hot brazen bull.

These scenes have been executed with the same technique and charm as the central representation, though not with the same care. Some of the elements, such as the decoration of the breastplate, the horse's mane, and the style and technique, suggest that the icon is a work of Cretan painting; but the exaggerated emphasis on the neck and head of the horse, which are disproportionately large, and the haphazard arrangement of the miniature scenes, suggest that the connection with the prototype was loose. Its affinity with other 17th century works, such as Saint Minas, by Emmanuel Lambardos (1610) in the Venice Institute, dates this work to the third or fourth decade of the 17th century.

THE FIVE SAINTS OF SEBASTEIA: MARDARIOS, ORESTES, EUSTRATIOS, EUGENIOS AND AUXENTIOS

By Emmanuel Skordilis the priest. 1650-1670.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 79.5 cm., width 59.5 cm.
The wood of the icon was in a very bad condition, and had to be removed and replaced with 'parquetry' (Ph.Zachariou, 1958). The painted surface is still on the original canvas, and is in a good state of preservation.

The icon is signed: ΧΕΊΡ ΈΜΜΑΝΟΥΉΛ ΊΕΡΈΩΣ ΣΚΟΡΔΊΛΗ. This Cretan painter from Chania (attested 1647-1671) was the most important artist in the Cyclades at this period. The icon depicts the five saints who all were martyred in the same region, with a miniature figure of God above them, blessing them and holding a martyr's crown (fig. 45). In the front row are the three saints Mardarios, Eustratios and Auxentios, standing, frontal and full- length, and in the second row, Orestes and Eugenios; all of them hold a gold cross in

their hand. They are all wearing different clothes, though these are not related to their individual capacities, as is the case in earlier icons.

In this icon, Emmanuel Skordilis had the opportunity to demonstrate his mastery in the decorated garments, rather heavily burdened with ornamentation, the rich drapery, with its fine lines, and the working of the flesh – all of these in the best Cretan tradition. His use of line is particularly distinctive and gives a rather harsh effect to the chiaroscuro, as though continuing the art and technique of the Lambardoi (beginning of the 17th century).

SAINT ONOUFRIOS AND SCENES FROM HIS LIFE
By Emmanuel Skordilis the priest. 1650-1670.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 38 cm., width 33cm., thickness 1.3 cm. (with the frame 2.3 cm.).
Flat wooden panel without canvas. In a good state of preservation. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1963). The separate frame, with a moulding, is the original.

The hermit Saint Onoufrios is depicted standing in front of low rocky hills. He is portrayed full length and frontally, and is naked save for a girdle of green leaves. His right hand is held in front of his chest in a gesture of blessing, and in his left he holds an open scroll with a prayer for deliverance from the danger of the sea, or from the 'wrath of the judge', which was probably composed by the painter (fig. 44). Along the two vertical sides of the icon are arranged eight scenes from the life of the saint. At the top left, the saint, still an infant, is learning to suckle from a doe, with his father, the king, next to him. Below this, he is being presented to the monks. In the following scene an angel appears to the monk Pafnoutios, wearing Frankish dress, who was later the disciple and biographer of the saint. At the bottom, the meeting between Onoufrios and Pafnoutios. At the top right are two scenes of the life of Onoufrios and Pafnoutios in the wilderness. In the penultimate scene the saint is giving his last requests to Pafnoutios, while Christ is waiting with open arms to receive his soul in the form of a dove. Finally, the saint in death, with Pafnoutios prostrate in veneration, while in the background two lions dig the saint's grave.

The iconographic type of both the central figure and the miniature scenes is found elsewhere (Molyvokklisia, the refectories of Dionysiou and Chilandari). It was not an original composition by the artist, but a repetition of a 15th century work; this is clear from elements typical of that period – the horse and the church – that survive in the present icon.

According to the inscription, the icon is the work of the priest Emmanuel Skordilis (attested 1647-1671): ἘΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ἹΕΡΕΩΣ ΣΚΟΡΔ[ΙΛΗ ΔΙ] ἘΞΟ[ΔΟΥ] ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΓΕΔΕΟΝ ἹΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΜΠΙΖΑΝ[ΟΥ]. The technique here differs little from that in his other works (cf. fig. 45): very small white highlights on the yellow-brown underpaint, which in this case alternate with the thick white hair of the saint.

'IN THEE REJOICETH', by Theodoros Poulakis, 1670-1690.

Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, new treasury.
Dimensions: height 45 cm., width 38.2 cm., thickness 2.3 cm.
Flat wooden panel, without canvas. In a good state of preservation. Conserved and cleaned (Ph.Zachariou, 1975).

The icon is by the painter Theodoros Poulakis, according to the inscription at the bottom right: ΚΟΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΟΥΛΑΚΗ. He does not follow the usual circular arrangement, but organises the hymn into three horizontal registers (figs. 46-51). At the centre of the top register is a portrayal of the Virgin in a glory, surrounded by cherubim and a six-winged seraph. To her left is a group of angels (with the inscription *σύστημα τῶν ἀγγέλων*) and to her right a group of men (*γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*) The middle register has a church with a Baroque pediment in the centre (*ὁ ναός ὁ ἡγιασμένος*). At the left is the Garden of Eden (*Παράδεισος λογικὸς*) and at the right a group of virgins (*Παρθενικόν καύχημα*). In the lowest register the central scene is the Virgin enthroned with the infant Christ; her feet rest on a cherub and the entire throne on a semi-circular heaven. At the left is the Annunciation, and at the right the Nativity, according to the western type, with the adoration of the shepherds. Around the edges of the icon are six prophets holding open scrolls with texts: David, Moses, Isaiah, Solomon, Isaiah again, and Jacob.

This new type was probably not created by Poulakis, for it also occurs in an icon in Sicily by a contemporary of Poulakis, Leos Moskos. Poulakis himself returned to the subject in a second, smaller icon in the Monastery, in a larger one in the Byzantine Museum, and in others on Egina, and Kephallinia, at Split and elsewhere.

The present icon is typical of the artist's style, with bold borrowings from western art adapted to the traditional manner. The distinctive features of the work are its lively movement, the bright, lambent colours, the decorative use of line, and a certain eclecticism; there is some looseness in the composition, and the modelling is soft. Theodoros Poulakis (1622-1692) was a successor to the 16th century painters Michael Damaskinos and Georgios Klontzas and continued their work of renewal, representing western Baroque in Orthodox religious painting. He worked in Venice and Corfu, where this icon was probably executed, between 1670 and 1690.

HOSIOS CHRISTODOULOS. 1610-1629.

Chora, monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, chapel of the Theologian, iconostasis.
Dimensions: height 84 cm., width 45 cm., thickness 3.4 cm.
Flat wooden panel, without canvas. In a good state of preservation, though with a slight crack in the wood and some wear at the bottom, from being kissed by the faithful. It has not been conserved and cleaned. The silver halo is a later addition.

Hosios Christodoulos is portrayed full length and frontally, wearing monastic garb, with a green hood, a red cloak and a brown cassock. In his right hand he holds a model of the katholikon and in his left an open scroll with a text (fig. 52).

The prototype for the icon was probably the Sanctuary door in the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos – about 1600 – judging by the metrical text on the scroll and the model of the katholikon. The latter is a realistic rendering of the western facade, showing the exonarthex, the library, the flat terrace and seven openings above the exonarthex, and the entrance to the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos – that is, as it was during the building phase after the construction of the chapel (after 1580) and before the addition of the second exonarthex (1698).

Christodoulos' pose is different in the icon – he is here depicted frontally – and the figure is out of proportion, though there is some attempt to imitate the drapery. The result is nonetheless rough and schematic, especially in the modelling of the face. The icon should

herefore be atributed to the group of Patmian artists who imitated the Cretans, in the first decades of the 17th century.

THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED, WITH THREE DONORS. 1590.

Chora, church of the Virgin Eleimonitria, iconostasis.
Dimensions: height 130 cm., width 63 cm., thickness 2.5 cm.
Flat wooden panel, without canvas. In a good state of preservation, with slight damage to the bottom edge. It has been cleaned at an unknown date, by an unknown hand. The two silver haloes were added later.

The Virgin Enthroned is a copy of a work by Andreas Ritzos in the Monastery (cf. fig. 17). The three donors are depicted in a separate band at the bottom, accompanied by the dedicatory inscription of April 1590: + ΔΈΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ̃ ΔΟΎΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ̃ ΘΕΟΥ̃ ’ΙΩ(ΆΝΝΗ) ΚΑΊ ΤΊΣ ΣΗΜΒΊ(ΑΣ) ΑὐΤΟΥ̃ ΚΑΊ ΤΌΝ ΤΈΚΝΩΝ ΑὐΤΟΥ̃ ΚΑΊ ΤΩ̃Ν ΓΟΝΈΩΝ ΑὐΤΟΥ̃ (fig. 53).

The representation of the donors is of particular interest. John and his wife are kneeling in veneration with one of their children between them, standing in prayer. The scene provides evidence for the taste of the period in dress, which seems to have been reprehensibly rich and ostentatious – cf. the white lace shirts, red socks, embroidered sash, and white headdress.

Although the icon follows the scheme of a work by Andreas Ritzos, it treats the subject in a different artistic idiom from that of the original. The predominantly linear treatment is given an unusual character by the broad, lit surfaces bounded by deep shadows. The figure is thus modelled without the aid of the usual small lines of highlight, and there is particular emphasis on the modelling of the mouth and eyes. These have an intense expression thanks to the underlining of the eyelids and the raised eyebrows, which give a sense of fear and surprise. This flat style is found from the 16th to the 18th century in Northern Greece and the Balkans, the area from which the painter of this icon originated. The icon must have been executed on Patmos, however, since the model is in the Monastery. The painter may have come from Wallachia, for the letters in the inscription are reminiscent of the Cyrillic alphabet, and at this period Patmos entered into relations with Wallachia and Moldavia.

1. St. Nicholas. Mosaic Icon. 11th century.

2

3

2-3. Christ and the Virgin (details of fig. 1).

4. St. John the Theologian. The proskynesis, or most venerated icon of the Monastery. 12th and 15th centuries.

4

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ
Ιω
ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ
ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΩΝ
ΠΑΝΤΑΔΑΝ
ΤΥΦΕΤΕΙΟ
ΗΛΙΟΥΣΙΑΣ
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ
ΗΓΙΟΣ
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ΠΑΝΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΩΝ
ΟΛΟΓΟΣΚΑΙ
ΠΟΛΟΛΟΓΟΣΚΑΙ
ΕΝΑΡΧΗ

5. Saint Theodore the Tiro. c. 1200.

6. Saint James the Brother of the Lord. c. 1260-1270.

7. Saint John the Baptist. 1480-1500.

8. Detail of fig. 7.

9. The Crucifixion. Monastery of the Annunciation. First half of the 15th century.

10

10. The Dormition of the Virgin. First half of the 15th century.

11-12. Details of fig. 10. →

ΙΣ
ΧΣ
ΙΗΣΟΥ

13

13. Saint Nicholas: First half of the 15th century.

14. The Embracing of Peter and Paul, by Angelos (?).
Last decades of the 15th century.

15. Saint Nicholas and scenes from his life. Middle of the 15th century.

16

16. The Virgin and Saint Catherine, by Angelos. Second half of the 15th century.

17

17. The Virgin Pantanassa. Large icon by Andreas Ritzos. Second half of the 15th century.

18

18. Christ Pantokrator. Large icon by Andreas Ritzos. Second half of the 15th century.

19

19. St. John the Theologian. c. 1500.

20. Bust of St. John the Theologian (detail of fig. 18).

ΕΝΑΡΧΗ
ΗΝΟΛΟ
ΓΟC·ΚΑΙ
ΟΛΟΓΟC
ΗΝΠΡΟC
ΤΟΝΘΝ
ΚΘCΗΝ
ΟΛΟΓΟC·
ΥΤΟCΗΝ
ΕΝΑΡΧΗ

21. Panagiarion. The Virgin between two venerating angels, and the Hospitality of Abraham. By Nikolaos Ritzos (?). End of the 15th century.

22. Christ, the Man of Sorrow (Akra Tapeinosis), by Nikolaos Tzafouris (?). Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi. 1480-1500.

22

23. The Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem. Double icon. End of the 15th century.

24. The Miracle of Saint Michael at Chonae. c. 1500.

26

26. St. John the Theologian, dictating to Prochoros. Church of Ayia Ekaterina. Middle of the 16th century.

25. The Presentation in the Temple. End of the 15th century.

27. Double icon. Above: The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. Below: The Presentation in the Temple. By Michael Damaskinos. Monastery of the Evangelismos. 1535-1592/3.

28. The Group of Virgins in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (detail of fig. 27).

29

29. Triptych by Georgios Klontzas. Open, interior. c. 1596.

30. Central panel of the triptych, interior. Christ Enthroned surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists. At the bottom, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Transfiguration. →

31. Left wing of the triptych, interior. Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus. →

32. Right wing of the triptych, interior. Crucifixion, Descent into Hell, Ascension, Pentecost, Dormition of the Virgin. →

33. Right wing of the triptych, exterior. Incredulity of Thomas, Healing of the Paralysed Man, Christ's Meeting with the Woman of Samaria, Healing of the Blind Man. →

34. Central panel of the triptych, exterior. The Discovery of the Holy Cross. Metrical signature and dedication by the painter at the bottom left. →

30

31

32

33

34

35. The Revelation – The Vision of Saint John, by Thomas Vathas.
Monastery of the Revelation. c. 1596.

36. Two angels (detail of fig. 35).

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ·ΤΗΣ·ΦΙΛΑ
ΔΕΛΦΕΙΑΣ·
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ·ΛΑΟΥ
ΚΕΩΝ·

37. Saint John the Hermit and scenes from his life. First decade of the 17th century.

38

38. The Three Church Fathers, by Jeremiah Palladas. Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi. First half of the 17th century.

40

40. Deesis, with Saint Andrew and Saint Paraskevi, by Ioannis Apakas, the priest. c. 1600.

39. Saint Andrew (detail of fig. 40).

41

41. The Entombment of Christ. Church of the Ipapandi. 1620-1640.

ΘΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΘΡΗΝΟΣ

43

42. Scene from the life of Saint Eustathios (detail of fig. 43).

43. Saint Eustathios and scenes from his life. Church of the Panayia Eleimonitria. 1620-1640.

44. Saint Onoufrios and scenes from his life, by Emmanuel Skordilis, the priest. 1650-1670.

45

45. The Five Saints of Sebasteia: Mardarios, Orestes, Eustratios, Eugenios and Auxentios, by Emmanuel Skordilis, the priest. 1650-1670.

ΑΝΑΒΑΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΙΝΩΝ
ΙΔΟΥ ΣΥΛΛΗΜΨΗ ΕΝ ΓΑΣΤΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΞΗ ΥΙΟΝ
ΑΝΑΒΑΣ Ο ΤΟΜΑΙ ΣΟΦΙΑ ΤΟ
ΙΔΟΥ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΕΡΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ
ΙΔΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΝ ΓΑΣΤΡΙ ΛΗΨΕΤΑΙ ΥΙΟΝ

47

47. 'In Thee Rejoiceth', by Theodoros Poulakis. 1670-1690.

46. Group of angels and the Garden of Eden (detail of fig. 47).

ΔΙΑΓΕΛΙΣΜΟ
ΙΑΧΗΑΔΗΚΥΓΕΝΟΙΣΜΟΙΚΑΔΟΡΗ
ΧΑΙΡΕΜΗΤΗΡ

ΗΓΕΝΗCΙC
IV XV
Α ΤΩΝΘΛΙΒΟΜΕΝΟΝ
ΤΧΚΟΣΜΟΥ
ΔΟΞΑΕΝ
ΥΨΙΣΤΟΙΣΘΕΩΙΚΑΙΕΠΙΓΗΣΕΙΡΗΝΗΕΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ
ΔΟΚΙΑ

50. The 'race of man' (detail of fig. 47).

←48-49. The Annunciation and the Nativity (details of fig. 47).

51. Group of virgins (detail of fig. 47).

52

52. Hosios Christodoulos. In his right hand he holds a model of the katholikon of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian. Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, Chapel of the Theologian. 1610-1629.

53

53. The Virgin Enthroned, with three donors. Church of the Panayia Eleimonitria. 1590.

CHURCH GOLD EMBROIDERIES

CHURCH GOLD EMBROIDERIES

Doubt is still expressed today as to whether Byzantine gold embroidery is an ancient art, or whether it first appeared in the 12th century, the period to which the earliest surviving examples belong. The Patmos archives supply the answer. In 1892, Charles Diehl published, for the first time, what was then the earliest surviving Inventory (1200) of the treasures of Patmos; after enumerating the precious fabrics, textiles and embroideries used in the services, he wrote in conclusion: 'When we consider that, to write the history of this lost art, precious textiles, we have nothing more than a few tatters, and when one further notes that amongst those fabrics listed in the Inventory, many are described – in 1200 – as "ancient", we cannot but lament the loss of this unique collection, perhaps the *most valuable of all the treasures enumerated in the Inventory*'. And indeed, a quick investigation at once reveals that nothing has been preserved of the *emprostalia* that hung in front of the holy icons and fragments of the True Cross, of the *potirokalymmata* that covered the chalices, the *endytes* of the Altar, the very name of which is now forgotten, the *epitrachilia*, *epimanikia* and the embroidered sashes recorded in this list.

The Patmos Inventory is not the only evidence for the wealth of precious vestments in the monasteries. The wills of highly placed persons who became the patrons of monasteries and churches – like that of the *protospatharios* Efstathios Voïlas (1059) – or of the founders, both laymen and prelates, who came to end their days in these sacred retreats – like the will of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Neophytos VI from Patmos – the documents recording donations by emperors and officials, and the inventories of treasuries, all refer to these gold-embroidered vestments, which in the Byzantine world were not handicraft items, but luxurious works of art.

The *Brevium ton Vlattion* in the *Diataxis* of the patrician Michael Attaleiatis for the Monastery of Panoiktirmon in Constantinople (March 1077), and the *typikon* of the Grand Domestic of the West, Gregorios Pakourianos, for the Monastery of the Virgin Petritsiotissa (1083), both of the the 11th century, mention 'endytes for the holy altar, having eleven poloi with double-headed lion-griffins, ancient potirokalymmata and ancient iconostasis curtains, endytes with an icon of the Virgin in mother-of-pearl, omophoria with scenes in mother-of-pearl, and other silks'.

The *Eparchikon Biblion* informs us that on feast days, or when foreign visitors were being received in Constantinople, the keeper of the wardrobe, acting on the instructions of the prefect, collected these precious cloths from the imperial court and the churches of the capital to adorn the streets of the city. These works, with their gold and silver wire and purple silks, lent their brilliance to the grandeur of the ceremonies associated with the cult of the emperor, and to the rituals of the Church.

The chroniclers of the Crusades never tire of indicating their wonder and amazement at the sumptuous fabrics they saw or held in their hands during the distribution of the plunder. The year 1204 – the Sack of Constantinople by the Franks – is of great importance in the

spread of the art of gold embroidery. It marks the beginning of the period at which the accumulated works of Byzantine empire were dispersed throughout the West and, as *Opere Romanie*, 'works of Romania' (the Crusaders referred to the Byzantine Empire as Romania), became famous throughout the world and undoubtedly exercised great influence.

The art of embroidery also travelled from Byzantium to Eastern Europe. The Russian chronicler tells of the impression created amongst his pagan fellow-countrymen by the embroidery with the Last Judgement, brought with them by merchants from the capital, which was so great that many of them converted to Christianity. Another Russian chronicler, in the 11th century, gives an account of a journey to Greece made by princess Yanka, who learned there how to chant and embroider. On her return to her own country, she taught these skills in the nunnery of which she was abbess. The most brilliant Byzantine gold embroideries are still today those preserved in Russia: the sakkos of Photios of Monemvasia, the Metropolitan of Kiev, and the podea presented to the Monastery of Zagorsk by Sophia Paleologaena. The podea, which was a combination of the arts of the goldsmith and the gold-embroiderer, calls to mind another, unique example, preserved on Patmos: the binding of the Gospel book, Patmos codex no. 81. Here, the exquisite embroidery in *tir-tir* (gold bullion) the branching patterns of which imitate chased metal-work, has been embellished by the addition of gilded silver attachments, with a scene of the Crucifixion and the symbols of the four Evangelists in the corners, set in lozenges.

In Moldavia and Wallachia, too, which became the heirs of Byzantium, the celebrated Monastery of Putna has, amongst other items, a masterpiece of gold embroidery: the tomb cover brought with her by Maria Asanina Paleologaena, a decendant of the Grand Comneni of Trebizond.

Now in Greece, too, thanks to the Museum of the Monastery on Patmos, we have the opportunity to admire this art at its peak; despite the inevitable losses, the Monastery possesses a large number of gold embroideries, from the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th, which are convincing evidence of the power of this art to satisfy the artistic sensitivity of the Greek people even after the collapse of the empire.

GOLD EMBROIDERY AND PAINTING

The narrative character of these decorative works made it only natural that they should follow the example of painting. They carry the imprint of the motifs used in painting, its iconographic schemata, and its combinations of colour, though this does not prevent them from having their own particular character. On Patmos there are a number of examples of gold embroidery imitating manuscript illustrations and icons, without any modification: the epigonation with the icon of Saint Luke (fig. 18) is exactly the same as the illustrated title of a Gospel book (cf. Patmos codex no. 75, fol. 55 and fol. 266). Saint Luke, in the centre of the epigonation, in an inclined rectangle, appears to be painting the Virgin and Child portrayed in the medallion at the top of the vestment. The other medallions encircling the apostle around the border contain busts of saints: John the Theologian, Peter, Andrew, Mark, Silas, Paul and Matthew.

This 17th century epigonation is rather a work of popular art, and cannot be compared with the polos (fig. 15) of the small omophorion of Seraphim I, former Metropolitan of Nikomedia, and Patriarch of Constantinople (1733/4). The depiction of the lost sheep, which was found by Christ and brought back on his shoulders to be restored to the flock, is set within a circle, around the edge of which is a learned, metrical inscription, explaining the symbolism of the circle: 'Since, like God, I have no beginning or end, I naturally bear a

spherical image, And being above in the pole of heaven, You can see me here inscribed in a small polos'.

'ΑΡΧΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΈΛΟC ΟΊΑ Θ(ΕΟ)Ć ΟΫK ĔΧΩΝ
CΦΑΙΡΙΚΌΝ ΌΜΟΙΩΜΑ ΕἸΚΌΤΩC ΦΈΡΩ
ΥΠΕΡΆΝΩ Δ' ΩΝ ΤΟΫ́ ΟΫ́ΡΑΝΊΟΥ ΠΌΛΟΥ
ἘΝ ΠΌΛΩ ΜΙΚΡΏ̨ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΠΤΌC ΟΡΩ̃ΜΑΙ

This inscription, embroidered in large letters around the cirumference of the circle, recalls similar inscriptions on icons of Patmos, such as the Virgin Diasozousa from the beginning of the 17th century, made, according to M.Chatzidakis, in a local workshop. It is clear from the technique and fine materials, however, that the embroidery comes from Constantinople. The gold and silver wire on the red satin background holds the light, creating a sculptural effect, and the very fine silk threads follow the modelling of the figure and the undulations in the ground like the brush of an experienced painter. The craftsman came from the same workshop that made the omophorion of Gerasimos of Old Patrai and the epigonation of the Patriarch Neophytos. The use of seed pearls for emphasis gives the embroidery a luxurious quality far removed from the rendering of the figures, 'without beauty and nobility'.

Another vestment of Patmos, the epigonation of Daniel of Sebasteia, is a copy of a rare Patmos icon: it was 'a gift from his highness Michael Soutzos, son of Konstantinos' dating from about 1787, with the prince's coat of arms (fig. 20). It depicts the vision of Saint John (Revelation 1, 9-20) in two registers. The Son of Man, with a radiate halo, is standing on a cloud with his right hand extended, and seven stars around the palm. There is a sword coming out of his mouth. The light emitted by Him is rendered by lines of red silk on the silver background. Around Him, on clouds, are seven angels, each holding a church. In the lower register, Saint John is lying supine at the feet of God, on top of a hill, with the seven lamps to the right and left of him. The corners of the vestment are occupied by the prophet Daniel, who is holding 'the stone cut without hands' (Daniel 2, 34 and 45), at the top, and the figure of Hosios Christodoulos presenting the katholikon of the Monastery to Saint John at the bottom. To the right and left are the two principal apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul. An icon on the iconostasis of the Cave of the Revelation depicts the Vision in the same manner (cf. Icons, figs. 35-36). It bears the signature of Thomas Vathas but, in the view of M.Chatzidakis, the original composition will have been influenced by western engravings. Vathas' icon differs from the western versions in the fullness with which the text of the Revelation is illustrated. Only one copy of it is known: the door of the outer treasury of the katholikon, a work of 1626.

The embroidery has all the characteristics of the Vienna workshops, with which the rulers of the Danubian Principalities are known to have placed their commissions when they were not executed in Constantinople. The entire red satin background is covered with the gold and silver twisted thread used for the heaven at the top, and various shades of green, pink and light-blue silk for the ground at the bottom; the embroidery has a clarity of line, and a harmony and order in the composition comparable with the finest works of the painters. Embroidery here follows other paths, and moves in a direction different from Byzantium. The miniature-painter and gold-embroiderer here stand on equal terms. Art has slipped down the slope of realism.

GOLD EMBROIDERY AND THE GOLDSMITH'S ART

The gold, however, gleaming amongst the colours in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine works produced in Orthodox workshops, precludes any rivalry with painting. Parallels for

these embroideries, with their brilliant reflections and slight relief are to be sought mainly in the art of the goldsmith. The two techniques have in common the small scale of the objects and the fact that they were destined for the same liturgical uses. It is not impossible that objects like the reliquary in the Stroganof collection, which portrays the dead Christ being venerated by two angels, may have served as models for epitaphioi, like those in figures 2 and 3.

The art of the goldsmith exercised an undoubted influence on gold embroidery that has not yet been studied. Just as the miniature-painter at one period attempted to rival the goldsmith – particularly the enamel-worker – the gold-embroiderer assimilated the goldsmith's art so successfully that the medieval texts draw comparisons between the techniques involved in the two professions. In many cases, the adjectives used to describe work on cloth are the same as those used of work on noble metals : *diachrysos*, *achrysotos*, and *inokopitos* are terms applicable to both crafts. Like the goldsmith – and especially the enamel-worker – the gold-embroiderer attempted to set his figures against a purple, mauve or deep blue background. This concern for colour can also be seen in the silk threads, the choice of which moderated the brilliance of the gold. The entire surface of the cloth is frequently embroidered with gold wire, and the chevrons, lozenges, scrolls, etc. on the background recall the motifs used in the engraved decoration of metals, or *syrmatera*, or the metal revetments of icons. Decoration with pearls, precious stones, enamel and semi-precious stones is found in both arts. The inscriptions, too, around the borders, or more often in the empty spaces of the background, point in the direction of the goldsmith's art.

FABRICS

Gold embroidery requires strong and enduring fabrics to form the basis. The Byzantines used various kinds of silks which remain taut during the work (*sirika*, *olosirika*, *metaxota*, and *examita*). These smooth, glossy silks are called satin in modern times (French: satin, Italian: raso). These textiles, which are mentioned in the sources, were produced and disseminated in Byzantine workshops, and were subject to strict regulations. They were regarded by the law as 'being like unto gold'. The *Eparchikon Biblion* contains a comprehensive account of the regulations concerning their production, sale and export. After the fall of Constantinople, velvet (*katiphes*) began to be used for gold embroideries. Occasional use was made, usually for hierarchical vestments, of the gold-woven stuffs of Europe, Constantinople and the East. The Patmos treasury (the most recent inventory of which, taken on 20th July 1939, lists five hundred and eight liturgical and hierarchical vestments) houses a number of costumes of *kamoukha* (the monks' *askaki*), a rich, heavy silk material decorated with branches and coloured flowers. The finest gold or silver fabrics are the damasks or brocades, which were even used to repair the damaged silk of the gold embroideries. We shall not be concerned with vestments in these materials here, since our interest is primarily on fabrics that demand a complex embroidering technique, using the following rich materials: a) fine wire of pure gold or silver; b) *chrysonima* or *argyronima*, in which gold or silver thread is twisted around a coloured silk core; c) *tir-tir*, gold or silver bullion; and d) silk threads in a variety of vivid colours.

AMPHIA AND PEPLA

Byzantine authors and post-Byzantine lexicographers used the terms *amphia* (vestments) and *pepla* (hangings) to describe church textiles. The term *amphia* is also used of the

sumptuous garments worn by the emperors. The cult of the emperor, with its festivals, prayers and hymns, was inconceivable without the *allaxima*, the various ceremonial uniforms worn by the royal family and court dignitaries, as distinct from the *pagana* worn every day. These priceless garments were often presented to adorn the most sacred part of the church, the Sanctuary. The same is true of the rituals of the Church: the gold-woven peploi and the all-golden curtains covering the Altar, and the resplendent vestments worn by the celebrant were indispensable features.

Ecclesiastical gold embroideries may be divided into the following categories, according to their function: a) liturgical vestments: the endyte, aer, epitaphios, and kalymmata (covers for the chalice and paten); b) hierarchical vestments: the omophorion, epitrachelion, orarion, epigonation, epimanikia, and sakkos; and c) decorative veils: the pyle, podea and labara. Just as the ancient Greeks used to cover wooden and marble statues with hangings, and just as the Israelites covered the tabernacle with thirteen curtains of blue and purple and scarlet, so the Byzantines covered the Altar with hangings during the divine service.

LITURGICAL VESTMENTS

Endyte. The most resplendent ornament used on the Altar is the endyte, the luxurious veil covering the Holy Table, on which the sacred vessels to hold the bread and wine are placed during the service. The splendour of the endyte is mentioned by ecclesiastical writers as early as the 4th century. The fact that it was the most magnificent of the Altar hangings is confirmed by the fact that only the emperor enjoyed the privilege of changing the endyte on Easter Saturday in the three most famous churches in the capital, Saint Sophia, Vlacherna and the Virgin of the Pharos. The Inventory of the Monastery of the Theologian taken in 1200 states that there were seven precious endytes in the treasury, five of which were *ancient*, and one of which had been presented by the Patriarch. Another five endytes are mentioned in the Inventory of precious objects made by the abbot Germanos about 1280.

Aer. The lack of any embroidered Altar veils in the Monastery is compensated for by the existence of embroidered covers for the communion bread and wine. These are the aeres, which may be divided into little aeres, which covered the chalice and the paten separately, and the great aer, which covered the two vessels together. Some scholars, citing the *Apostolic Statutes*, suggest that the aer was descended from the *ripidium* or *flabellum*, with which the deacons fanned the bread and wine to keep insects away. The more probable explanation is that the aer derives from the curtain, or *tetrabelon*, that hung from the ciborium and fell during the transubstantiation of the bread and wine to conceal the head of the priest from the eyes of the congregation: 'as many things as are sacred and precious to men are covered by veils, each by its own' (Gregoras).

The finest of the many aeres preserved in the Monastery is the work of the embroideress Mariora (fig. 1). The centre of the scene is occupied by a depiction of the dead Christ, lying on a shroud on top of the sarcophagus; behind him is the cross and the instruments of the Passion, the sponge, lance and crown of thorns. There is a figure at either side: the Virgin to the left, kneeling in prayer before the sarcophagus and, to the right, his beloved disciple John, portrayed behind it holding his hand. The background is dotted with stars and the symbols of the universe, the sun and moon, to the left and right of the cross. The inscription irregularly embroidered at the bottom edge of the aer refers to the donor and the embroideress: + ΔΕΗCIC ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΝΟC ΜΑΡΙΩΡΑC ΑΨΝΓ++++++ 'Prayer of the monk Iakovos and the work of Mariora 1753'. Here there are two motifs

compressed into one. One is of a liturgical character: the allegory, related to the Eucharist, of the Lamb who is daily sacrificed upon the Altar. The scene is symbolical: it is unfolded against the heavens, as indicated by the starry sky and the two symbols of the universe, the sun and the moon – a guard of honour for the King of Glory and witnesses to the eternal nature of the scene. The cross, an instrument of torment, is at the same time a symbol of victory: 'Virgin and wood and death, the symbols of defeat, these have become the symbols also of victory' (Chrysostomos). But the cross of glory will also be carried before Christ at the Last Judgement. The eschatological meaning of the cross is made clear in Matthew (24,30): *And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in the heaven*. The cross, with the instruments of the Passion, is at the same time the throne of the *Etoimasia* (Preparation) that awaits the Supreme Judge. The second motif is historical, and depicts the Descent from the Cross and the Lamentation at the Tomb.

The aer is exquisitely embroidered on red silk. The garments worn by the figures are worked in gold and silver wire and coloured gold and silk twisted thread, using the concealed stitch that creates alternating visual impressions: the main stitches used are the diamond and the chevron. The monotony of the colour of the metal wire is broken by pink and bluish spots on the clothes of the Virgin and Saint John. The flesh of the figures is executed in very fine silk, with the stitches following the lines of the anatomy. Silk was also used in the black background of the sarcophagus. The treatment of the drapery departs from the flat style of embroidery and has a sculptural feel. The influence of Western art is apparent in the iconography (the Virgin kneeling in prayer, and the cross with the western inscription, instead of the Byzantine 'King of Glory'); in the technique (the Virgin's cloak, the sash of the dead Christ, and the radiate halo); and also in the attempt to render the idea of space.

The donor and the embroideress were both distinguished persons. The donor was Iakovos Anastasiou, an eminent 18th century teacher and preacher; a Patmian by descent, he studied at the Patmian School under Makarios Kaloyeras, and became his assistant and colleague as a teacher. Despite many difficulties, he founded schools in Halepi and Tripolis, in the See of Antioch, in his struggle against the propaganda of the Franks. He later founded a school in Jerusalem, in 1737, which made a contribution to the flowering of letters there. In addition to his activities as teacher and preacher, Iakovos also published a number of works, including the *Akolouthia* of Hosios Christodoulos. He died in Jerusalem in 1775. The Monastery on Patmos possesses at least ten donations presented by him (See also Church Silver, figs. 5, 16 and 42). The embroideress Mariora belonged to a workshop in Constantinople in the 18th century (1723-1758). She too was a teacher of her art, her pupils including her daughter Sophia, who embroidered the covers for the reliquary of Hosios Christodoulos (cf. fig. 7), and the nuns Sophronia, Areti, Irini, Agathi and Maria. She worked mainly on commissions from the Patriarch Païsios for the Monastery of the Kamariotissa at Chalki. Embroideries by her are to be found in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in churches and monasteries in Greece, and in Jerusalem.

Another fine aer, by the embroideress Florou (fig. 4), has the inscription: Ο ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟC, the Epitaphios. In this case, the composition closely follows the Byzantine tradition: Christ is lying not in the sarcophagus, but on the stone slab on which he was embalmed. This stone was a venerated relic in the eyes of the Byzantines; It was brought to Constantinople from Ephesos by the emperor Manuel Comnenos, who carried it on his own shoulders from the port of Boukoleon to the church of the Pharos. After his death, and interment in the Monastery of the Pantokrator, the stone was transferred there. From that time, artists used to depict it in scenes of Christ-Amnos and the Epitaphios. At the left, the Virgin sits on a stool and holds the head of the dead Christ in her arms, while Saint John, stooping at Christ's feet, holds his cheek in sorrow. Two angels are flying beneath the arm of the cross in the

background. Emphasis is laid on the hieratic expressions on the faces, and the iconography has great formal clarity, so that the entire scene is governed by its liturgical character; this was beyond the skills of Mariora's art. The rich floral decoration around the border of the veil, however, and the palmettes in the two top corners give the cloth a decorative character. The following inscription is embroidered below the slab in gold thread: '1703 April, the aer was completed for me, the monk Gabriel, by the hand of (the embroideress) by name Florou'.

ΑΨΓ ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ ΕΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΗ Ό ΑΕΡΑC ΕΜΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΥΠΟ ΧΕΙΡΟC ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΦΛΟΡΟΥC

Paten cover – Chalice cover. Two other covers embroidered on the same red silk as the aer, and decorated with the same gold tassels are to be attributed to the same embroideress: the paten cover (fig. 5) with a portrayal of Christ in the type of the Man of Sorrow (Akra Tapeinosis) – the inscription has the Descent from the Cross – and the long, narrow chalice cover (fig. 6) which has, at one end, the Resurrection in the western manner – Christ leaping over the tomb holding a flag – and the King of Glory, in the chalice, at the other. The floral scroll around the border of the scene, and the flowering branches in the corners are the same in inspiration and technique as those on the aer by Florou (fig. 4). The scenes on both these covers, and some of the details on the aer, such as the angels with their wings spread, and the location and style of the inscription on the upright of the cross, point to a workshop influenced by Western art, probably in Crete or the Ionian islands. Since we know nothing of the workshops of the Ionian islands, whereas in Crete there are references in wills to lavish vestments as early as 1572, and gold embroideries survive in monasteries from the 17th century, this embroidery should probably be attributed to Crete, especially since the Monastery on Patmos is known to have enjoyed close relations with the island.

Epitaphios. From a very early period, the treasury housed a number of fine gold-embroidered liturgical vestments, made in various famous monastery workshops, or *chrysorrapheia*, amongst them the epitaphios donated by 'Matthew of Myra, most honourable, the exarch of the whole of Lycia'. It was donated to the Monastery in 1460, according to the act of donation in Patmos codex no. 75: 'I humbly, of my own wish and desire and free will, donate to the holy, reverend and sacred monastery ... the *amnos* of gold, with wire, and an aer of gold, also with wire on a red ground'. The epitaphios is the liturgical vestment now used in the service on Good Friday. It derives from the great aer used from the 13th to the 15th centuries to cover the Chalice and the Paten, and has a portrayal of Christ-Amnos, a symbol of the Eucharist, attended by the heavenly powers. It apears from the liturgical texts and paintings in churches that, up to the 15th century the priests and deacons carried the aer-epitaphios above their heads like a canopy during the procession of the Great Entrance, while the communion bread and wine circulated amongst the faithful, accompanied by torches and fans, with the deacons carrying the censers and the chorus singing the cherubic hymn. This procession is an expression of the mystic union of the community of the faithful in the worship, and also recalls the description of the Last Judgement by the Church Fathers (Ephraim of Syria). The scene (figs. 2 and 3) is therefore connected by its symbolism with the Eucharist, and at the same time has an eschatological content. The meaning of the cross has already been discussed.

This liturgical scene usually has the symbols of the four Evangelists in the four corners, *(since) the congregation of the Church is woven from the four corners of the earth*. Here, there are portraits of four Church Fathers: Gregory, Chrysostomos, Basil and Nicholas, three of

them as authors of liturgy and the fourth because the *amnos* was dedicated to the church of Ayios Nikolaos on the island of Megiste (Kastellorizo).

In Byzantine documents the epitaphios is called *amnos* (lamb), since it had a representation of Christ-the Lamb. It represents the double aspect of the liturgy: that is, it is celebrated on earth, just as the angels, dressed as deacons, celebrate it in heaven. The vestment (fig. 3) has an inscription in three lines at the bottom, immediately below the stone slab in the scene of the Descent from the Cross: 'This amnos was dedicated to the Great Nikolaos on the island of Megiste / by the most reverend Metropolitan of Myra, most honourable, exarch of the whole of Lycia, and president of Karpathos / and Naxia, Matthew'.

+ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΗ Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΑΜΝΟC ΕΙC ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ ΤΗC ΜΕΓΙCΤΗC
ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΥ Μ(ΗΤ)ΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΜΙΡΕΩΝ ΥΠΕΡΤΙΜΟΥ
Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΞΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΑCΙC ΛΥΚΙΑC ΚΕ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΡΠΑΘΟΥ / ΚΕ ΝΑΞΙΑC ΜΑΤΘΕΟΥ

Matthew, the Metropolitan of Myra, was abbot of the Monastery at least from 1454-1460. It was at this time, between 1454 and 1522, that many metropolitans from Asia Minor took refuge from Turkish persecution on the neighbouring island of Patmos, which was semi-independent, and not ruled by the Latins. This accounts for the titles of the abbot. The vestment probably does not come from a workshop in Asia Minor, as the inscription suggests. The clothes worn by the angels, the unnatural posture of the dead Christ, and the top of the upright of the cross recall Western models. If the floral scroll around the edges, embroidered on a cloth of a different colour, and the technique of the haloes do not derive from a later repair of the vestment – it was a Byzantine custom to combine the colour of the background of a gold embroidery with a different colour around the edges – they also point to the West.

HIERARCHICAL VESTMENTS

Epitrachelion. The Monastery also possesses some superb examples of Byzantine epitrachelia, masterpieces of the art of gold embroidery, now on exhibition in the display cases in the treasury (figs. 8-11). Rulings were made from the beginning of the 5th century defining the appropriate vestment for each priestly rank. The decisions of the Council of Laodicea make it clear that the different vestments for different ranks of priest had already been determined by the middle of the 4th century. From the beginning of the 6th century, the epitrachelion was regarded as indispensable for a priest, who was not permitted to approach the Sanctuary without it. It consists of a strip of cloth, which was worn around the neck and hung on the breast; the two sides were usually joined by small bells.

We turn first to the epitrachelion with the Church Fathers (figs. 8-9). The neck is decorated with Christ as High Priest. Along the sides, the Virgin and Saint John at the top are the other two figures of the Deesis. They are followed by three pairs of Church Fathers: Peter and Paul, Gregory and Basil, and Chrysostomos and Nicholas. The same figures parade along the bottom of the bema apse, and correspond to the prayers of the *Proskomide*. Here, they are portrayed in bust, arranged in panels separated by impressive motifs. As in the margins of manuscripts, or in church sculptures, use is made of arabesques, asymmetrical figures, wild animals with flowering branches springing from their mouths, and with tails ending in rosettes, lilies and other floral motifs. A buffalo mask has a muzzle formed by creeping plants, ending in flowers that intertwine with each other to form two inverse spirals. Fearsome creatures like these are to be found in the Metropolis at Mystras, from the

beginning of the 14th century, and on the epitrachelion no. 4 of the Lavra, 'of Peter the priest and sacristan of the Great Church'. These comparative elements suggest the direction in which we should look for the workshop. The triumph of the decoration, however, is the two fringe panels, with compositions consisting of crosses and rosettes, and a stylised double-headed eagle. The entire fabric is covered in gold and silver. Every variety of hidden stitch – *vereriki*, *kamares*, *isia spasmeni* – has been used in these metals to create a sculptural quality; the emphasised, idealised facial features are embroidered in very delicate yellow-brown silk in a chain stitch.

From the 15th century comes another richly embroidered epitrachelion, with the major Feasts; instead of twelve, however, only ten are preserved here, out of order and separated by pairs of Church Fathers:

Nativity	Annunciation
Gregory and John the Merciful	Basil and Chrysostomos
Transfiguration	Presentation in the Temple
Kyprianos and Arsenios	Athanasios and Ierotheos
Raising of Lazarus	Baptism
Dorotheos and Gregory	Spyridon and Nikolaos
Crucifixion	Entry into Jerusalem
Epiphanios and Germanos	Cyril and James
Pentecost	Descent into Hell

The Church Fathers are depicted full length and frontally, beneath trefoil apses, as in epitrachelion no. 1 in the Byzantine Museum. One side is embroidered with the name of the owner: Kallistos the monk, in fine calligraphic letters (fig. 10). What is impressive here is the prominence given to the border, and the decoration of the fringe. Both these features are to be found on the Vatopedi epitrachelion, no. 1, and that in the Putna Monastery, a gift from Stephen the Great (before 1480). In all three there are badly spelt Greek inscriptions, which are difficult to read, with the letters combined in ligatures; there are also some interesting variations of the names of the Feasts. These elements, and the broad band at the end filled with swastikas, set at different angles within lozenges, indicate the date of the embroidery. As G.Millet observed in connection with a similar work, 'the Greek spirit, order and clarity, has gained in strength and authority'.

Another epitrachelion has the representations of the Feasts set in medallions. There are three scenes on the neck: the Deesis in the centre, with the Preparation of the Throne to the right and the Ancient of Days to the left. There follow fourteen feasts, out of order: the Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Presentation in the Temple, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Flagellation, Descent into Hell, Crucifixion, Incredulity of Thomas, Myrrhophores, Dormition of the Virgin, Pentecost. The entire cloth is covered with gold embroidery, with light spots of coloured silk thread. The spaces between the medallions are occupied by a decorative motif of double-headed dragons, whose bodies are intertwined inside a complex lozenge. The fringe has a complicated floral motif, consisting of a small two-handled vase from which spring intertwined branches, plants and leaves, forming spirals. The arrangement of the scenes in the medallions, and particularly the motifs on the fringe panels is almost identical with the 15th century Bistritsa epitrachelion in Bucharest Museum of Art. The iconography is the same in both these embroideries, though the style is different. On Patmos, we have Byzantine austerity, in Bistritsa, the spirit of the Renaissance.

The epitrachelion of the Apostles, with its unrestrained, lively art and meticulous technique, is an outstanding composition, a true hymn of praise to Christ. On the neck is

Christ as High Priest. Next come the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist who, together with Christ, form the Deesis, followed, in pairs, by Peter and Paul, Mark and Matthew, John the Theologian and Luke, Andrew and James, Simon and Barnabas, Thomas and Philip. The embroiderer has set the figures in panels, beneath trefoil apses. The red satin is almost entirely covered with the gold of the haloes and the lavish drapery of the clothes. Only the faces, somewhat damaged by time, can be made out; they are embroidered in yellow-brown silk, the red stitches creating a painterly effect and lending the figures a certain expressiveness. The outlines, the inscriptions, and part of the columns cast greyish reflections on the gold. The decoration of the fringe creates a contrast with the gold of the rest of the vestment: the rosettes are made of drawn silver wire, twisted with deep blue and green silk. The craftsman has tried to achieve his effect through the use of the rich material and the variety of technique, in which the predominant stitch is the delicate *kavaliki*. The exquisite skill and craftsmanship place this vestment amongst the finest examples from the workshops of Constantinople. Though it is in a poor state of preservation, one wonders if this is not the epitrachelion referred to in the 13th century Inventory.

The epitrachelion of 1728 (fig. 11) takes us back to Crete. The entire surface of the two strips is covered by radiate crosses that turn into floral scrolls and form four elliptical panels in which are depicted the figures of the Annunciation, the Angel and the Virgin, and busts of the two leading Apostles, Peter and Paul. On the fringe are two larger panels, with pointed frames, in which are the full length figures of Chrysostomos and Athanasios. At the bottom there are three twelve-syllable iambic verses: 'Have mercy on thy builder, Virgin Mother, Through the entreaties of Peter and Paul the divine, With the two resplendent Church Fathers 1728'.

ΙΛΕΩCΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ CΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΜΗΤΩΡ
ΙΚΕCΙΑΙC ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ
CΥΝ ΙΕΡΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΗ̃ ΤΗΛΑΥΓΗ̃ ΔΥΑΔΙ
Α Ψ ΚΗ

This vestment may be compared with the epitrachelion of the Arkadi Monastery on Crete, dating from 1724, embroidered by Gerasimos, and with unpublished oraria of the Sinai Monastery that also came from Crete. According to tradition, Nektarios Thomaos was owner of the vestment before he became abbot of the Monastery.

Lention. The workshops of Crete probably also produced the lention (fig. 12), which appears to be the 'matching pair' of a hanging embroidered at the Arkadi Monastery. The lention was the cloth with which the abbot girded himself, in imitation of Christ, at the feast of the Washing of the Feet, on the Thursday of Holy Week, when he washed the feet of his monks-disciples. The coat of arms in the centre is that of the Cretan Kallergis family, whose Byzantine origins are indicated by the double-headed eagle in the middle of each side of the border. Coats of arms were to play an important role in the embroidery of Crete and the Ionian islands from the 16th century onwards. They were used to adorn hangings, canopies and aeres, taking the place of the portrait, since monastic art still hesitated to depict the donor.

Omophorion. The omophorion is the distinguishing mark of the bishop. It consists of a broad band that encircles the shoulders of the celebrant with one end falling in front and the other behind. Many scholars have connected it with the imperial *loros*, or the *trabea*, the long scarf worn by the consuls, that crossed on the breast, the end falling on the left shoulder. The ecclesiastical sources all insist that omophoria should be of wool, but all the surviving

examples are of satin, usually white, or of gold-embroidered damask. They have a circular piece of cloth, the polos, on the neck (fig. 15). The rest of the strip has applied crosses, since Christ, too, carried His cross on His shoulders. There are four such crosses on the large omophoria, and two on the small; each cross has representations, sometimes only in the centre, sometimes also on the arms of the cross. Countless generations and long centuries of history have deposited in the treasury a number of omophoria of special importance, including one from the 15th and another five from the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the 15th century omophorion the applied crosses have been transferred to damask woven with silver (*kamoukha*). In their present order, the crosses have representations of a) the Baptism, accompanied by the symbols of the Evangelists; b) the Crucifixion, with angels and cherubim; c) the Descent into Hell, with the prophets Job, Ezekiel, Sophonias and Moses; d) the Annunciation, with the prophets David, Isaiah, Gedeon and Solomon (fig. 13). These scenes from the gospel have reference to the double nature of Christ: the Annunciation – Nativity to his human nature, and the Baptism – Descent into Hell to his divine nature. The figures on the arms of the cross are connected with the main scene. On the polos, the Pantokrator is blessing with both hands, and the two fringes at the end of the vestment – the *potamoi* (rivers) – each have a seraph between two wheels.

The vestment is made of mustard-coloured satin, with gold and silver wire and a few coloured silk threads on the flesh, the drapery and some of the accessories to the clothes. The embroidery is laid in different directions and the reflections of the colours on the metallic wire creates plays of light and dark that produce a sculptural quality and a sense of perspective depth. The style is an expression of the Byzantine tradition. The piece may be compared with a similar omophorion, from the end of the 15th century, in the Monastery of Putna in Romania, and with one of the same date in Ohrid. The delicacy of the workmanship, however, distinguishes it from the vestment of Putna which, according to the astute conjecture of Tafrali, was probably one of the works brought by Maria Comnena from Constantinople to the Crimaea and thence to the court of Stephen the Great.

Three centuries separate this vestment from the woven silver omophorion of Gerasimos of Old Patrai (1746). This, too, was executed in Constantinople by the teacher Mariora, who embroidered the aer in fig. 1. The inscriptions, embroidered in small circles in the middle of the floral scrolls on the potamoi are a hallmark of the work of this embroideress – one example being the omophorion of Anthimos of Tyrnavos, which she signed with a monogram. Here, the representation of the main event from the Gospel is set in a circle in the centre of each applied panel, embroidered on red satin, while the four arms depict either the prophets who foresaw the event, or the Evangelists who disseminated it. The Crucifixion is surrounded by the four Evangelists (fig. 14), and the other three scenes – the Baptism, Descent into Hell, and Transfiguration – by four prophets. The iconography is consistent, for the work was executed under the shadow of the Patriarchate, the guardian of tradition. The style, however, is fundamentally different from that of the preceding vestment, and comes closer to painting. The technique, particularly in the embroidering of the scenes, which resemble miniature paintings, is executed with consummate skill in the Byzantine manner, using pure wire. The representations on each of the crosses are encircled with floral decoration, which is given exaggerated prominence, with the result that it neutralises the importance of the representations themselves. This is the finest of the surviving works by this embroideress. The presence of this omophorion in the Monastery is explained by a note in the Patmian codex no.1015 (fol.412^{v}), which states: '1761, July, there came to the monastery Kyr Gerasimos the Metropolitan of Old Patrai, who took his vows, becoming a brother of the monastery'.

Three more omophoria are of special interest, in that they, too, came from workshops in

Constantinople. One of them, the polos of which has already been discussed (fig. 15), was owned by the Ecumenical Patriarch Seraphim I, the former Metropolitan of Nikomedia. It has only two crosses, with the symbols of the Evangelists (an eagle and an angel); it appears that it originally had all four symbols, but that two of them were transferred to another omophorion. The second belonged to Chrysanthos of Lacedaemonia and Tripolitsa (1801-1804), and seems to be a poor copy of the one by Mariora: excessive use is made of *tir-tir*, and the Resurrection follows the Western iconographic type. The third was the omophorion of Gregory of Lesbos, the shepherd of Athens; in this case the Nativity, as well as the Resurrection, is a copy of a Western model.

A good example of a luxurious omophorion is that of Daniel of Sebasteia 'a gift from his highness Michael Soutzos, son of Konstantinos, Voivod 1785', whose coat of arms it bears. It forms a 'matching pair' with the epigonation decorated with a scene of the Vision. White damask, slightly damaged, with applied panels of red satin. The arms of the cross have floral decoration worked in gold thread and silver, and adorned with spangles which draw attention to the central scene, rather than conceal it. The omophorion, like the epigonation, comes from the workshops of Vienna: the representations on the crosses derive from Western art, both in iconography and technique. The Ecumenical Patriarchate possesses a similar vestment, dating from ten years later, presented by the same prince to the same prelate, though he was now the Metropolitan of Bizye.

Epigonation. The epigonation originated in the soft *encheirion* (hand cloth) that hung from the priest's girdle, like the kerchief that hung from the girdle of the Byzantine aristocracy, which was in turn derived from the Roman *mappa* or *mappula*, the cloth used by the consuls to give the starting signal at the games. Later, the cloth was stiffened by the addition of a diamond-shaped piece of cardboard, and embroidered with gold. It hung from the girdle to the knee. Until the 12th century it was exclusively the vestment of bishops, but was later extended to other prelates.

We again meet with Gerasimos of Old Patrai, in the context of the epigonatia of Patmos, though on this occasion as Gerasimos of Thebes (1734) (fig. 22), before he was appointed to the see of Patra. The vestment is embroidered on red silk, using gold wire, twisted silver thread and fine, choice silk; it is adorned with a great number of seed pearls. It represents the Holy Trinity, not in the form of the Hospitality of Abraham, in accordance with Byzantine symbolism, but with the Father and the Son personified, in the manner that became widespread during the period of Turkish rule. There are four iambic trimeters along the four edges of the diamond-shaped panel: 'I bear the form of the Holy Trinity, And I adorn the knee of the lord bishop, The Metropolitan of Thebes, Kyr Gerasimos, The faithful servant of God, of the three hypostases – 1734'.

+ ΜΟΡΦΉΝ ΤΡΙΆΔΟC ΤΗ̃C ΣΕΒΑCΜΊΑC ΦΈΡΩ
ΚΟCΜΩ̃ ΔῈ ΓΌΝΥ ΔΕCΠΌΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΆΡΧΟΥ
ΘΗΒΏΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΌΛΕΩC ΚῪΡ ΓΕΡΑCΊΜΟΥ
ΤΟΥ̃ ΠΙCΤΟΥ̃ ΛΆΤΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ̃ ΤΡΙCΥΠΟCΤΆΤΟΥ - ΑΨΛΔ

Another inscription states that the embroidery was the 'toil of Eusebia', an embroideress of Constantinople whose works cover a period of fifteen years. They are all small-scale pieces, exquisitely worked, though the wealth of floral decoration overshadows the religious subject and gives them an almost worldly charm, in contrast with the usual Byzantine austerity. The epigonation of the Patriarch Neophytos VI, on exhibit in the treasury of Patmos, has some minor differences. The work of the same embroideress, produced one year later, it was bequeathed by the Patriarch Neophytos to the Monastery in his will, along with his

embroidered epimanikia, his majestic sakkos and sticharion and his staff (cf. Church Silver, fig. 28).

The epigonation of Iakovos, Metropolitan of Myra, which has a representation of the Washing of the Feet (fig. 19) is related, like the lention, to the ceremony of the Washing of the Feet held on Patmos. The account of the Last Supper is to be found in all four Gospels, but only John (chapter 13) includes the incident of Christ washing the disciples' feet before the meal, and the teaching that followed. The epigonation has a representation of the upper room in Jerusalem in which the Last Supper was to he held. The circular attic is roofed with a dome, and inside it the oval table – the *accubitum* – is set, and the disciples around it are untying their shoes. Christ stands at the left end of the table, in the pose of a teacher, his right hand raised in a gesture of speech, ready to teach the apostles the lesson of humility; he is wearing the lention, and opposite him, Peter is protesting against what He intends to do. The composition is perfectly balanced on three levels, and there is some attempt to render perspective depth. Western influence is clear, mainly in the representation of the attic. The drawing is consummate, with its correct proportions and idealised figures, but we are far removed from the austere design of the Byzantine Washing of the Feet, found in epigonatia of the Monastery of Stavronikita, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Monastery Iveron, and elsewhere. All around the border, in calligraphic capital letters, is the fifth verse of the canon of the morning prayer for the Thursday of Easter Week. This is followed by the owner's name and the date: 'Iakovos, the most reverend Metropolitan of Myra. February 20. 1600'. In the Monastery *Brevium*, we read of Iakovos: *1601, January 18, the servant of God, the most reverend Metropolitan of Myra Iakovos, and our brother from Patmos, passed away*.

In the epigonation with the Descent into Hell (fig. 21), the representation includes the figures of Adam and Eve, Saint John the Baptist, and a prophet-king. Above the scene, instead of Christ, an angel holds the cross, trophy of victory over death. Around the inner diamond-shaped panel is a broad border of red silk, with the symbols of the Evangelists in the corners and the verse of the Easter Sunday hymn: *Having seen the Resurrection of Christ, let us worship the Holy Lord Jesus Christ, who alone is free from sin*. The iconography is Byzantine, in its simplest form. The angel holding the trophy of glory in place of Christ, however, and the two small medallions in the horizontal corners of the central motif, in one of which can be read S(anctus) M(undi) R(edemptor) (the other cannot be deciphered), both point to the West. The West is also suggested by the hymn, which is translated in the Roman Catholic service as *Crucem Tuam Adoramus*. Was this perhaps a case of a Western craftsman working for the Orthodox Christians?

A Western workshop produced an epigonation in light-blue silk with a scene of the Vision of Saint John. The scene, in miniature, is contained in a central circle with undulating rays. The broad border is decorated with a scroll. This embroidery, and two *ripidia* worked in mustard-coloured silk, recall the patens of the Roman Catholic Church, called *ostensoirs*. The second of the two ripidia even has the abbreviation usually found on the ostensoirs: I(n) H(oc) S(igno) V(inces).

To appreciate the degree of opulence in which ceremonial was conducted on Patmos in the 17th century, we need only admire the epigonation with the Deesis (fig. 17). The gold wire against the light of the blue background, the knowledge and experience with which the scene is adapted to the surface area of the vestment, and the perfect accuracy of the lines, all contribute to the decorative effect, though the iconography of the vestment served doctrine in its most austere form. The Christ of the Deesis is not in this case the Pantokrator, but a youthful winged angel – the Counseller – coming on clouds and wheels to judge mankind (Isaiah 9,6). The four symbols of the Evangelists carry the message to the ends of the earth.

In the border is verse 3 of Psalm 45, which is recited by the priest as he puts on the vestment: *Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty.*

The finest, not only of the epigonatia, but of all the gold embroideries, in terms of its art, is the epigonation with the representation of Christ *Anapeson*, dating from the 15th century (fig. 16). The scene is not set on the diagonals of the cloth as is usually the case, but on the vertical and horizontal axes; this was because the priests often wore the epigonation hanging not from the waist, but from the shoulder, crosswise. It portrays the Child Jesus lying in a cradle, with his head resting in his right hand. An angel stands by at the left, holding a vase containing the instruments of the Passion, while the Virgin, to the right, is protectively fanning the Infant in His sleep. The scene is inspired by the prophecy of Jacob (Genesis 49, 9): *He stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?* The scene symbolises the Incarnation of the Word and the redemption of the world (John 1,14). Christ is also referred to as Anapeson in the Easter Saturday hymns. The entire cloth is covered in sliver thread, in a diamond stitch. The cradle, the Virgin's garments, and the fan are adorned with blue twisted silver thread in a chevron stitch. The scroll around the border forms crosses and medallions containing stars. At a few points the silver embroidery is dotted with red silk, giving it a lively note which, far from intruding on the spirituality of the icon, intensifies it by the allusion to the future death of the Infant on the cross.

Epimanikia. The stem with its abundance of leaves and flowers on the epigonation by Eusebia, is to be found in the identical form on a pair of epimanikia (fig. 23). It springs from a plant pot and forms an elliptical frame around the figures of the Annunciation, the Angel and the Virgin. In addition to the similarity of the decoration, the two vestments also resemble each other in their use of choice materials, the finely detailed execution, and the decorative use of pearls. They may therefore be assigned to the same workshop. Epimanikia symbolise the fetters with which the Saviour was bound before being taken to Caiaphas. Up to the 12th century, they were worn exclusively by bishops. After the 15th, they are also referred to as vestments worn by priests. After the Fall of Constantinople they also began to be used by deacons.

Mitre. During the Early Christian period, the ministers of the Almighty were not allowed to wear head covers, for two reasons: first, because of Saint Paul's exhortation *to pray uncovered* because Christ is the head, and second because *the priest is ordained with his head uncovered*. The wearing of the mitre spread in the Eastern Church from the time of Kyrillos Loukaris, who wore it as Patriarch of Alexandria, and subsequently became Ecumenical Patriarch (November 1620). The mitre derives from the *kammelaukeion*, the imperial crown worn in the period of the Comneni. It is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennitos as a royal head-cover. It is a cylindrical head-cover of woollen or velvet material, with applied panels of gold-embroidered silk.

There are two gold-embroidered mitres on exhibit in the Patmos treasury: The first (figs. 24-25) has a number of scenes around the side, in no particular order: the Entry into Jerusalem, Raising of Lazarus, Crucifixion, Incredulity of Thomas, and the Descent into Hell, the space between them filled with cherubim and seraphim. The donor, according to tradition, was Alexios Comnenos, but the workmanship does not appear to be that of the *Chrysoclavum* in the palace. The second (figs. 26-27) is the *soft cap* used in the monasteries. It has two projections over the ears, and bears a depiction of Christ as the High Priest on one surface, and a double-headed eagle surmounted by a baldachino of the

Church on the other. We learn from the inscription on the calotte that it was the *property of Nektarios of Philippoupolis* (1682).

Sakkos. The Monastery possesses a large number of sakkoi, but they are not gold-embroidered. According to tradition, the finest of them belonged to the Ecumenical Patriarch Neophytos VI, who, as we saw above, bequeathed it, together with other vestments, to the Monastery on Patmos (fig. 28).

The sakkos is today the most widely used hierarchical vestment in the Eastern Church. Like the omophorion and the mitre, it derived from the imperial wardrobe. In shape, it resembles the dalmatic of the Western Church. The sakkos is a short tunic with wide half-sleeves, consisting of two square pieces sewn together at the shoulders and joined at the sides with small bells, recalling the garment worn by the biblical high priest (Exodus 28), though it also has ribbons. A piece of evidence from the 13th century states that the Patriarch of Constantinople wore it only at the three most important feasts of the year: Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. After the Fall of Constantinople its use appears to have been extended to all bishops.

The sakkos of Neophytos is cut in white taffeta. Large areas of the borders – the hem and the shoulders – are embroidered with gold thread, and decorated very tastefully with long stalks that end in flowering foliage, arranged in a variety of different ways. The same motifs were used on the sticharion and epitrachelion, and belong to the great moment of European embroidery. With this piece we reach the high point of embroidery, which aspired to approach the level of painting. And yet, the gold gleaming amongst the coloured silks precludes any rivalry with painting.

DECORATIVE PEPLA

Mention may be made of the most sacred of the decorative pepla (hangings), the three covers for the chest containing the relic of Hosios Christodoulos, which are slightly different from each other (fig. 7). The background of all three is of green silk, with a border consisting of a floral scroll; the main motif consists of dissimilar bunches of flowers, set in the corners and along the sides, flanking a stylised cross. The embroidery comes from the workshops of Constantinople, and bears the signature of the embroideress Sophia, daughter and pupil of Mariora. The piece is worked in twisted gold thread, and seems from its decoration to have been a piece of secular embroidery.

The Treasury on Patmos offers us a picture of life on the Aegean islands as experienced by suffering Christians. Neither scholarship nor great knowledge is required to enjoy these works; one simply has to enjoy the sight presented to one's eyes. There are ideas truer than reality, that conspire to captivate one's reason.

The celebration of the ninth centenary affords an opportunity to collect together the precious evidence that survives of the divine worship of the monastery. It is an enterprise of some difficulty, however, to give the reader a picture, albeit a concise one, of a period covering nine centuries, especially when one considers the various individuals and organisations that have played their part in harvesting these treasures in troubled times. To write the history of the Treasury, it is first necessary to examine the Archive, the various Inventories, the testaments, the donations, the notary books, a whole world of documents reflecting the geographical, economic and political environment, which has already begun to attract the attention of scholars.

Even under these conditions, however, the attempt has been necessary and useful, for these works – whatever their number – are rare, and dispersed compared with their original production. 'These works are like the perfume that Mary of Bethany scattered at the feet of Christ', a Roman Catholic bishop recently wrote of the vestments of his see. A Judas, miserly, narrow-minded and greedy, would say: 'Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?'. But the community of the Church is aware of its deep debt to the artists who, in their own way, hymned the glory of God, and thereby helped the faithful to partake of the divine Presence.

1. Aer with a scene of the Lamentation. Made by the embroideress Mariora and donated by the monk Iakovos Anastasiou. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1753.

2. Epitaphios with a scene of Christ-Amnos attended by the heavenly powers. 15th century.

3

3. Epitaphios with a scene of Christ-Amnos attended by the heavenly powers. Donated by Matthew, Metropolitan of Myra. 1460.

4

5

6

4. Aer with a scene of the Lamentation, with rich floral decoration around the border. Made by the embroideress Florou. 1703.

5. Paten cover with a scene of Christ, Man of Sorrow. Attributed to the embroideress Florou. c. 1703.

6. Chalice cover. The King of Glory in the chalice – the Resurrection. Forms a set of covers with the aer and the paten cover (figs. 4 and 5). c. 1703.

7

7. Cover for the chest containing the relic of Hosios Christodoulos. Made by the embroideress Sophia. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1749.

8

9

9. Border decoration of the epitrachelion in fig. 8. Crosses-rosettes and a double-headed eagle.

8. Epitrachelion with the Church Fathers. Detail showing the pairs Peter and Paul, Gregory and Basil, John Chrysostomos and Nicholas. 15th century.

10

10. Epitrachelion with the major Feasts, separated by pairs of Church Fathers. The detail shows two of the pairs, with Pentecost, the Descent into Hell, and the broad band of the border decoration. 15th century.

11. Epitrachelion. The apostles Peter and Paul in elliptical panels formed within the floral decoration (detail). From a Cretan workshop. 1728.

12

12. Lention with floral decoration. From a Cretan workshop. Coat of arms of the Kallergis family. 18th century.

13

13. Cross-shaped attachment of an omophorion, with a scene of the Annunciation in the centre and four prophets on the arms of the cross. 15th century.

14

14. Cross-shaped attachment of the omophorion of Gerasimos of Old Patrai. The Crucifixion, surrounded by the four Evangelists. Made by the embroideress Mariora. 1746.

15

15. Polos of the omophorion of the Ecumenical Patriarch Seraphim I, with a scene of the lost sheep. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1732.

16. Epigonation. Christ 'Anapeson'. The scene shows Jesus as an Infant, asleep in a cradle. 15th century.

17. Epigonation with the Deesis. Christ is portrayed as a young, winged angel on clouds and wheels of fire: 'the Counseller'. 17th century.

17

18

18. Epigonation. The Evangelist Luke. The border has medallions with the Virgin and busts of saints. 17th century.

19

19. Epigonation with a scene of the Washing of the Feet. It belonged to Iakovos, Metropolitan of Myra. 1600.

20

21

22. Epigonation of Gerasimos of Thebes (later of Old Patrai), with a scene of the Holy Trinity. Made by the embroideress Eusebia. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1734.

22

23. A pair of epimanikia. The Annunciation. Clearly a set with the epigonation in fig. 22.

23

20. Epigonation. The Revelation, the Vision of St. John. At the bottom, Hosios Christodoulos offering a model of the church. Donated by Michael Soutzos. 1787.

21. Epigonation with the Descent into Hell. Byzantine iconography, Western art.

24

26

25

27

24-25. Mitre. Descent into Hell, Chorus of seraphim. Traditionally attributed to the emperor Alexios I Comnenos.

26-27. Mitre in the shape of a monk's hat. Christ, the Great High Priest; double-headed eagle. 'The property of Nektarios of Philippoupolis'. 1682.

28

28. Sakkos of the Ecumenical Patriarch Neophytos VI, according to tradition.
Middle of the 18th century.

CHURCH SILVER

CHURCH SILVER

Church silver, a branch of artistic metalworking, comprises the silver vessels and liturgical objects used in the rituals of the Church. The study of post-Byzantine and modern Greek silverware concerns itself with the objects used from the 16th century onwards, both within the territory of Modern Greece and in the broader area of the Greek Diaspora, whether made by Greek craftsmen, or even imported.

All these objects serve specific liturgical needs, and have established types. The most sacred vessels are used for the Eucharist: the chalice, *zeon*, paten, *asteriskos*, lance, spoon and *artophorion*. Of the sacred books, the Gospel is luxuriously bound, as is the Book of the Four Gospels, the New Testament, on rare occasions, and more recently the Acts of the Apostles. The *flabellum* and the processional crosses are used as banners. Incense is burned in a censer, and occasionally, mainly in the monasteries, in a *katzi*; in earlier times it was kept in an incense box. Churches are lit by oil-lamps, *polykandela* and, exceptionally, chandeliers. Small candlesticks burn on the Altar, and larger candelabra in front of the Royal Door. Sacred relics are kept in richly decorated reliquaries. There are special objects for special services: the cross, jug and basin for the *hagiasmos*, the sanctification of the Holy Water, the sprinkler, ewer and basin, *artoklasia* and *panagiarion* and the wedding wreaths. Ancillary vessels include the various plates used for the communion bread, the *kollyva* and the rose-petals. Icons are revetted, with 'silver-gilded sheets'. Priests and prelates wear a pectoral cross, and the latter also an *enkolpion*. During the service, they wear a mitre, hold a bishop's staff, the symbols of their office, and, when making the blessing, use *dikerotrikera* or a cross 'of blessing'.

The quality and number of the ecclesiastical vessels is directly related to the economic prosperity of the community using them, or the importance of the religious centre to which they belong.

The liturgical equipment and donations belonging to the katholikon and the chapels were recorded and deposited in the treasury, where they were stored when not in use. This was a room close to the sanctuary, for reasons of practicality and security. In the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos the earlier ('inner') treasury was immediately behind the sanctuary. The later ('outer') treasury was established in 1859, in the room previously occupied by the library, built by Nikephoros of Laodicea in 1625.[1] The exhibition of these treasures today is an expression of the increased interest in their artistic value.

The study of Greek church silver is a relatively recent field. Very few articles have appeared offering a systematic presentation of objects found in treasuries or museum collections.[2] The systematic study of these objects requires the publication of scholarly catalogues: this in turn involves the adoption of approaches already formulated in research into European silverware; the proper evaluation of the archives; and the exploitation of the occasionally very valuable data yielded by the study of techniques and materials, and of the inscriptions. The accounts of the travellers, and earlier local publications are sometimes of

great value. The few researchers working in isolation are required to overcome all these problems. Accordingly, publications in this sphere will for some time have the character of preliminary communications, and will be subject to the revisions that become necessary as research progresses, and the field expands.

This publication of a representative selection of the silver objects[1] of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos is an attempt to demonstrate their opulence, and their importance for the history of European and Greek silver.[2] In the selection of the objects, the aim was to cover as long a period (15th to the middle of the 19th centuries) and as wide an area as possible; this made it possible to include a larger number of centres (Venice, Transylvania, Constantinople, Smyrna, Moscow, etc.), a wider range of styles and a greater variety of vessels. Systematic use has been made of the archival and epigraphic material, and the accessible modern international bibliography. The character of the publication and its limited extent were dictated by the demands of brevity and selectivity.[3]

FORMATION OF THE TREASURY

DONORS, CRAFTSMEN, WORKSHOPS, USE

Acquisition (donations, dedications, purchases), use, deterioration, and occasionally re-use or loss: church silverware has its place in the annual liturgical cycle and the ages-long history of the Monastery.

Many of the objects were donated by clerics, and indeed by prelates. A significant number of the latter were Patmians: the Patriarch of Constantinople Neophytos VI (1747), Sophronios of Irinoupolis (1776), Daniel of Sebasteia (1797) and Nektarios of Sardis, to whom we also owe the iconostasis in the katholikon (1820). There were also notable donors from outside Patmos, men like Nikephoros of Laodicea (1615-1628) and Agathangelos of Karyoupolis (1722 and 1736). In many cases, the identity of the prelate making the donation has yet to be established. The donations by the prince of Wallachia, Michael Soutsos, mostly in the Cave of the Revelation (1784-1787) and by Catherine the Great of Russia,[4] though smaller in number, are important in attesting to the influence of the Monastery at the courts of princes.

The dedicatory inscriptions, however, and the archive, afford evidence for the existence of many other donors: abbots, former abbots, ordinary monks and laymen, who made both expensive and humble dedications. Amongst these was the distinguished Patmian teacher and monk, Iakovos Anastasiou (1750-1763), and the monks Merkourios (1675) and Athanasios, who later became abbot of the Monastery (1713). Women, both nuns and the wives of dedicators, are also recorded. A considerable number of laymen, too, dedicate their property, whether real estate or movable goods, the latter including silver household vessels and jewellery.[5]

Bequests and donations augmented the property, the authority and the influence of the Monastery: they created a tradition. An extract from a reply by the brotherhood to Samuel, the Patriarch of Constantinople (1763-1768) gives some idea of the mentality and practices involved: '... and in it (the Monastery) we place our trust and take pride, and seeing in it the ancient dedications and donations made by our ancestors, not only do we rejoice in our heart, but consider that the donors themselves are present and we see them, are alive and we enjoy them, and each of us, readily and with faith, devotes and dedicates of his own accord what he wants, in the belief that it will remain for ever and ever, inalienable and irremovable'.[6]

An event of some importance in the life of the monastery was the 'alms mission', a

practice instituted by the Orthodox Church during the period of Turkish rule to enable it to meet its economic needs and obligations.[1] In addition to the dedications and alms missions, the Monastery acquired silver vessels through purchases made either locally by the brotherhood, or through commissions placed outside the island by individual members of it.[2]

The presentation of a dedication, though an expression of piety, was frequently made in anticipation of some immediate or future return. The dedicator hoped for 'mental and physical health', 'a memorial service after his death', 'the remembrance of his soul at the hour of the judgement to come', or simply 'cessation of the pain in his teeth'.[3] He also wanted repute in this life and posthumous fame; he invested his deepest needs in his donation, and therefore took every care to ensure that it was commemorated and safeguarded.

The use of the vessels in the cycle of worship was determined by strict conventions that took account of their material, quality and, of course, number; they were divided into objects intended for daily use and those used only for particular festivals, like the 'Easter' censer (fig. 13). On Patmos, the decoration of the katholikon is frequently changed during the year, culminating with Christmas, Easter and the festivals in honour of Saint John the Theologian and Hosios Chrisotodoulos, the founder of the Monastery.

Continuous use and cleaning caused the church vessels to deteriorate and become deformed. When they had completed one life-cycle, they were sometimes re-used as raw material to make new objects. Finally, in unsettled times they were often put to uses that ultimately led to their being lost: these included plunder, the payment of taxes, and enforced sale to pay debts or ransoms, or simply to survive.[4] There are also some interesting cases of silver vessels being used as money, or presented as gifts to foreign sovereigns.

In this world of the powerful, there was little room for the craftsmen. Mention of their name is rare, and their place of origin is added only at a later date. The case of Michalakis Frantzis and his work (fig. 30), who take it upon themselves to speak in an inscription in order to boast, is unique. Here the craftsman feels himself to be an artist, and his work emerges from the obscurity of functional objects onto the stage of art.

An indication of the workshop is even rarer; our only guides in these cases are the stylistic analysis of the objects, preferences for and insistence upon certain types and decorative motifs and the publication, in the future, of catalogues and works of synthesis. The picture is clearer in the case of western objects, most of them modern, thanks to the existing bibliography and the relevant tables of silver stamps.[5] The archives on Patmos refer to dealings between craftsmen and 'foreign traders' in silver; *chrysophoi* are also mentioned.[6] This limited evidence, however, gives no details about their activities. The inscriptions shed light on the names and, more rarely, the place of origin, of a very few craftsmen who produced objects for the island. They include Panagos, Gerasimos, Ioannis the Peloponnesian and the partners Sabbas and Ioannis from the Pontus (1759 and 1797).[7] In more recent times, we know of a brother of the Monastery, Kaisarios Galanakis (end of the 19th century).[8]

THE OBJECTS

THE EARLY OBJECTS: 11th–16th CENTURIES

Some picture is given of the gold and silver of the Byzantine period by two surviving Inventories of the icons, sacred vessels, fragments of the True Cross, sacred relics and books, made in 1200,[9] when Arsenios was abbot, and 1262,[10] when the office was held by Germanos. When the latter composed his will in 1272, however, a mere ten years after the

Inventory, he wrote to his successor:[1] 'do not look for gold and silver treasures in my abbey, for you will not find them, as God and my conscience are my witness, not a single one of the said objects was stored up in my term of office, nor did I myself take possession of or conceal any for my old age, or though a desire for greater glory, or grasping for a bishop's see or another monastery of greater size, but my one desire was to struggle yearly, and by commerce and ships to find the monastery's debts, and for it to be sufficient and capable to meet them, and mollify the pirates, and to do what work was necessary to gain food'. This passage bears witness to the difficulties of the times, and explains the loss of the treasures. A few centuries later, in 1659, the account by an anonymous Patmian of the sack of the island by the Venetians confirms the testimony of Germanos on the fate suffered in difficult times by the 'silver, gold and pearl' of the islanders.[2] Very few items have survived from the wealth of precious objects and sacred relics of the Byzantine period; they include the large icon of Saint John the Theologian 'with a gilded silver frame and crown and gospel, both gold-enamelled' (cf. Icons, fig. 4) and the mosaic icon of Saint Nicholas with a silver frame (cf. Icons, fig. 1).[3] There are also the relics of Saint James the Persian, Saint Stephen the younger and the apostle Philip, and three fragments of the True Cross. Nothing has been preserved of the 'holy chalices' to which reference is made, while all that remains of some of the codices is a few fragments of their luxurious binding.[4]

The earliest dated item (1468)[5] amongst the Monastery's silver is a pair of silver gilt flabella (fig. 1). According to the inscription, they were originally donated by Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia (1457-1504), to the Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos, to which the Romanian princes of the 14th century onwards made donations.[6] It is not known when or how these flabella found their way to Patmos. A similar pair was donated by the same prince to the Monastery of Putna, in Romania (1497).[7] The flabella are formed of large panels made of flat wire, in which are set smaller, circular or diamond-shaped panels filled with floral or geometric decoration of twisted wire. Five circular plaques decorated with repoussé seraphim are attached to each side, forming the shape of a cross. On the central plaque, the symbols of the Evangelists can be seen amongst the seraph's wings. The knot is engraved with a Slavonic inscription. These flabella call to mind the decorative concept of a group of 14th and 15th century objects from Greek and Russian workshops, in which, however, the workmanship is more severe, made of flat wire attached to the surface of the icon, or of twisted wire, or of a combination of the two techniques.[8] The Putna flabella – and therefore also those of Patmos – are attributed to a workshop of Sibiu in Transylvania.[9]

The first sizeable group of silver objects in the Monastery is of Western origin. The weakening of Byzantine sovereignty in the south-east Aegean after the end of the 13th century, the Turkish threat, the capture of Rhodes (1309/10) and subsequently the entire Dodecanese by the Knights of Saint John and, finally, the fall of Constantinople[10] obliged the Monastery and the island to turn to the West. Already at the beginning of the 13th century Saint John at Stylos on Crete, a metochion of the Patmos Monastery, enjoyed the favour of the Doges of Venice,[11] and relations between the Monastery and the Knights of Saint John were of a privileged nature. Privileges were also granted to it by Western princes, who issued documents granting monks from Patmos permission to travel in their territories for alms missions. After the capture of the island by the Turks in 1461, relations between the Monastery and the Church of Rome began to grow stronger. The issuing of favourable papal documents, the frequent journeys by monks from Patmos to Rome, where Pope Gregory XIII founded the Greek College in 1597, and the visit to Patmos of Capuchin monks in 1684, all attest to the level of these relations, which continued until about the middle of the 18th century.[12] Contacts with the West also followed the trade routes leading to Italy. It is therefore easy to account for the presence in the monastery of a considerable number of

silver vessels from Western workshops, a phenomenon that can also be detected in the churches of Chora and the other islands of the south-east Aegean.

One of the processional crosses, *tou kontariou* ('of the pole'), is a representative example of this group (figs. 17-18). One side has the figure of Christ Crucified nailed to it, and representations of the prophets engraved within the quatrefoil frames at the extremities of the cross. On the other side is the Mother of God, in prayer, accompanied by the Evangelists. The sides of the cross are covered with a repoussé scroll with rich foliage, on a ring-punched ground. The corners of the sides are adorned with cast Gothic crockets, and the spherical knot has incised floral decoration and applied metal leaves. The shape and decoration of the knot depart from Gothic forms.[1] The manner in which the prophets and Evangelists are rendered, standing out against the dense incised lines of the background, is found in central Italy at the end of the 15th century.[2] The scroll on the sides occurs, in a less elaborate form, on other silver objects from the south-east Aegean at this period, such as the icon of the Panayia Karyona at Apollona on Rhodes, which bears the coat of arms of Pierre d'Aubusson (1467-1476).[3] It is akin to the scroll found in Cretan wood-carving from the end of the 15th century.[4] The quality of the workmanship of the cross, and the iconographic types point to a Western, possibly Italian workshop. A censer with a lid in the shape of a church (fig. 2) probably belongs to an earlier period. Its six-sided container has a cast bust on each side: The Virgin and Child, Saint John the Baptist, angels, and Eve. It stands on a six-sided foot with Gothic crockets. The lid has three levels, with elements borrowed from Gothic architecture, and ends in a spire.[5] An enkolpion should perhaps also be assigned to the 15th century: it has a bust of Christ in an attitude of blessing, within a lobed frame against a background lightly engraved with lozenges (fig. 37). The calm facial features, the wavy hair and the modelling all rather suggest an Italian origin. At a later period, a piece of metal was attached to the reverse with an engraving of Christ in Glory. It is not known whether this was the original use of this enkolpion, or whether it was once part of some other object.

There are several vessels and oil-lamps from the 16th and 17th centuries, of differing origins and uneven quality. Some of these have similarities with objects from Sicily, with which the Monastery had relations,[6] while others bear Venetian stamps. The publication of the entire contents of the treasury will undoubtedly bring to light evidence for other foreign workshops.

During the Renaissance, Venice continued to be one of the most important centres of the goldsmith's art in Italy.[7] The number of objects preserved from the 16th and following centuries, however, are very few, given the wealth of the city. Their loss is due to the devastation that followed the fall of the Republic in 1797. The location of every new object is accordingly an event of importance.[8]

Of the stamped Venetian objects, mention may be made of an incense boat of Renaissance type, with a tall foot (fig 4).[9] The main body is in the shape of a boat with an elevated central section; one side of the lid opens with the aid of a hinge, and ends in a handle that takes the form of the bust of a female figure rendered in the round, with a striking coiffure. A similar figure adorns the other end of the vessel. The body of it is covered with repoussé compositions of fantastic animals with bodies in the form of plants, and the lid is decorated with palmettes. On the foot are heads of angels, and there are acanthus leaves on the stem. The decoration is completed by relief and cast angels, the lion of Saint Mark, and cast masks.[10] Another remarkable Venetian work of the same century is a gilded chalice (figs. 39-41). The foot of this is covered by a scene of 'Christ the Vine', an iconographic type found in Cretan painting of this period.[11] The vine covers the entire surface, and forms a decorative frame for portraits of Christ's disciples, which are rendered

in higher relief, standing out perceptibly from the background. The entire composition is full of movement and very expressive. The knot contrasts with this motif: it is decorated in low relief with full-length cupids, busts of angels, garlands and incised strapwork on a delicate ring-punched ground, all of these being features of Mannerism.[1] The chalice nevertheless combines two different decorative conceptions – the sculptural, in the full-length figures, and the pictorial, which predominates on the calyx and the knot. The size and quality of the work suggest that it was originally not a functional object, but a work of art of monumental dimensions, destined to adorn some ecclesiastical treasury.[2]

A contrast is supplied by the expressive means of Georgian art, found in a gold, pectoral reliquary of the True Cross, whose function is indicated by the shape of the cross, with three arms[3] (figs. 35-36). On one side is depicted the Crucifixion, between busts of the Virgin and Saint John, with angels on the arm of the cross above them; on the other is the Virgin with the archangels and Christ Pantokrator. The figures are accompanied by inscriptions. All the surfaces of the cross are adorned with pearls, turquoise and precious stones. The high relief, the rough modelling of the figures, the rendering of the facial details, the stylised drapery and the lavish use of stones[4] all suggest that the reliquary should be assigned to the later centuries of Georgian art, and probably to the 16th century.[5]

From the end of the 16th century to the Venetian-Turkish wars (1645-1669), Patmos exploited the cultural and economic conditions prevailing in the eastern Mediterranean, and enjoyed a period of great prosperity. An important source of its wealth was the transportation of merchandise in its own ships, mainly from Asia Minor to Italy and vice versa. Chora and the Monastery were embellished with houses and churches, with carved wooden iconostases and icons – works made by Cretans, or according to Cretan models.[6] Objects illustrating the relations of the Monastery with East and West were stored in the treasury. The number of vessels and archival references increases at this period, enabling us to form a first picture of the history of the treasury.

OBJECTS WITH EASTERN INFLUENCES: 16th–17th CENTURIES

The Eastern tradition, which exercised a considerable influence on church silverware of the 16th and 17th centuries, is represented in the Patmos treasury by an oil-lamp and a jug (*mastrapas* or *koumari* in the 'Inventory' of 1829, *drosero* in the oral tradition). As far as we can tell in the present state of research, the oil-lamp (fig. 11) is one of the very few of its type that have been preserved in Orthodox treasuries. It has an almost spherical body with a low foot and is decorated with engraved, open-work arabesques, which stand out against the light of the lamp.[7] The jug (fig. 12) has the shape typical of a group of similar vessels: a bulbous body, a high neck, and a handle ending in a serpent's head; it may also have had a lid.[8] On the body and the neck, against a slightly depressed ground, are engravings of animals, either facing each other, or intertwined, amidst a dense floral decoration.[9] It also has 'sah' at various points, and a stamp on the rim.[10] This vessel, which was widely disseminated in the Ottoman empire in the 16th century, was modelled on Persian objects made of brass with inlaid gold and silver decoration (end of the 15th – beginning of the 16th centuries).[11] The form is also found in vessels made of more precious materials, such as rock-crystal, either used alone, or in combination with gold and precious stones;[12] it also occurs in ceramic vessels.[13] In the case of jugs made of silver, the place of origin is believed to have been Constantinople, though it may also have been some centre in the Balkans.[14] The gilded silver bishop's staff (fig. 29), which belonged to Nikephoros of Laodicea (1615-1628),[15] a former abbot of the Monastery, is also part of this Eastern climate; the

geometric and floral interlacing on the head and the body, and the settings of the stones are characteristic features.[1] The same decorative conception was followed about fifty years later, in 1676, in a chalice made by Panagos, which is enriched with coloured glass stones[2] (fig. 43); on the calyx are depictions of prophets worked in niello. Another object revealing Ottoman influence is the *polykandelon* with six conical lamps,[3] typical of the 17th century (fig. 3); they consist of pieces of cast metal with delicate open-work floral decoration. According to the inscription, it was the work of the monk Gerasimos, who signed two other objects on Patmos in this same year (1685).[4] It is not known whether he was a brother of the Monastery or an itinerant craftsman.

The Ottoman climate is also predominant in another group of 17th century objects, the common feature of which is the use of enamel in a variety of forms and combinations. We turn first to a cross 'of blessing', in which enamel is applied in its simplest form (fig. 32).[5] One side of the open-work carved wooden kernel[6] is occupied by the Baptism, and the other by the Crucifixion; like the Nativity, these usually formed the main scenes on crosses, with the other iconographic motifs arranged around them. Here they are accompanied by angels and the Evangelists, who were directly connected with these scenes. The use of open-work, a technique found predominantly from about the middle of the 17th century, is characteristic.[7] All the surfaces of the silver mounting are covered with delicate floral filigree decoration: the polygonal finial at the bottom is another 17th century feature. This simple form of cross occurs in the Balkans and Asia Minor in many variations. Amongst them are metal serpents at the sides, supporting small enamel icons of Christ and the Virgin (exactly like the *lypira* of the crosses on the iconostases), or serpents at the sides with carved wooden kernels, small towers, birds, and stylised flowers at the corners or the ends of the arms of the cross. Two of the centres at which they are known to have been produced are Peć and Ćiprovac.[8] To these may be added the Pontus (Sinope),[9] Constantinople (see fig. 21) and of course other centres. This is another of the subjects that awaits the systematic investigation of the Greek museums and treasuries.

A second, more richly decorated object in this group is a 'sanctification' cross with a carved wooden kernel and a silver gilt mounting (fig. 21). The front and the back have the usual representations of the Baptism and the Crucifixion, accompanied by angels and the Evangelists. The circular foot is supported on three cast animals, a feature commonly found in candlesticks and candelabra;[10] around the rim is the owner's inscription.[11] The decoration is completed by birds, the heads of angels, serpents with flowering branches coming from their mouths, and stones with mounts in the shape of flowers. The multi-coloured effect is heightened by the use of coral, pearls, stones, opaque filigree and *champlevé* enamel in the shades of blue and green so popular in Ottoman art. The former are used in the frame of the cross itself, and the latter on the other parts. The style and motifs are those prevalent in Constantinople from about the middle of the 17th century.[12] The cross is dated to the second half of the 17th century on the basis of a comparison with a similar cross with a foot, of greatly inferior quality, from the year 1669, preserved in the Ipsilou Monastery on Lesvos.[13]

The finest object from this group of 17th century enamel treasures is the bishop's staff of Dionysios IV (fig. 30).[14] It consists of the head, eleven cast, eight-sided sections and 4 knots, all covered in a blue, opaque enamel, which has gilded floral decoration and small relief flowers of Ottoman type[15] picked out on the same plane as the enamelled surface. The staff has a gilt tip. The head has finials consisting of asps with open mouths, and is covered with branches with enamelled leaves and small blue and light green flowers. Amongst these, are symmetrically arranged flowers with dentate petals of translucent enamel, with large, irregularly faceted diamonds in the centre, in typical Ottoman mounts. The eyes of the serpents consist of diamonds in a red enamel border; their heads are covered with opaque

blue enamel and their teeth with white. On the square, lower part of the head is a metrical, archaising inscription.[1]

This 'cunningly wrought' object is a brilliant example of the Constantinopolitan art of its period. The work of Michalakis Frantzis ('the toil of his own hand'), it is of impressively meticulous workmanship and has an air of opulence with its many colours;[2] it is the kind of 'princely' object which adorned the courts of Europe. Works of comparable quality and style are to be found in the Armory in the Kremlin in Moscow.[3] Amongst the foreign craftsmen who were invited to the workshops of the Kremlin in the 17th century, we are informed that there were Greek craftsmen from Constantinople, who specialised in enamel work.[4] That the Greeks were adept at this art is confirmed by Michalakis Frantzis, and perhaps also by the *saadak* (bow case and quiver) with a Greek inscription from Constantinople, known as the 'Greek quiver', which is now kept in the Armory.[5] The staff originally belonged to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Dionysios IV (1671-3, 1676-9), who seems to have bequeathed it to the 'Great Church of Christ'.[6] When the Patriarchate found itself in economic difficulties in 1736, the then Patriarch, Neophytos IV, at the suggestion of the prelates in Constantinople, purchased the 'diamond' staff, and also the 'fine diamond crown' of the Patriarch Kyprianou for the sums of one thousand piastres, and three thousand piastres respectively. In 1747 Neophytos dedicated the staff, along with some other items, to the Monastery on Patmos.[7] Sixteen years later, however, in 1763, the then Patriarch of Constantinople, Samuel, demanded that this treasure should be returned to the Patriarchate, claiming that it had been acquired by Neophytos by unlawful means. The Monastery contested this assertion, and the staff remained in its possession (v.i., p. 234).[8]

WESTERN OBJECTS FROM THE 17th CENTURY

During this same period, the Monastery acquired some impressive monumental pieces of silver from Venice, thanks to the frequency of the contacts between the island and the West, and the generosity of the donors. In 1627, the monk Efthymios Kontoleos, who came from a noble family, dedicated a pair of candelabra.[9] Similar candelabra were dedicated about 1697 by Nikephoros Kaloyeras Fradellos, who also held the office of abbot.[10] The Monastery's representative in Venice, Kyr Pothitos Kaloyeras, attended to the execution of the commission by Nikephoros, and also the oil-lamps of Papa-Mitrofanis and the former abbot Iakovos Siphantos,[11] which are now in the treasury. Between 1672 and 1693, Gregorios of Didymoteichon, from Kos[12] dedicated a monumental 'sanctification' basin (fig. 56) before taking up the office of abbot of the Monastery. It is made from a single sheet of silver, and is supported on the backs of four small angels, worked in the round. Three more full-length angels stand gracefully on the rim, each holding up a candle-holder in one hand. The central scene on the body of the vessel is the Virgin and Child; around her, amongst loose branches bearing fruit, are the disciples of Christ, who have strong movements and dramatic expressions. In the centre of the reverse side is a medallion containing an inscription that refers to the high office and the origins of Gregorios, and to his donation of this object to the Monastery.[13] Basins of this type, and also much more impressive ones, were commonly found from the 16th to the 18th centuries on the princely and wealthy bourgeois tables of the West, where they were used to keep the wine cool.[14] The iconography of the decoration of the Patmos basin, however, leaves no doubt as to its original use.

Another work from Venice is a large oil-lamp (fig. 18). It consists of four parts of differing diameters, with gadroons decorated with large naturalistic flowers. The other surfaces are covered with loose scrolls, acanthus leaves and free floral motifs. Four full-length angels,

supported on the main section, form the points from which the lamp was suspended. The sculptural quality of the vessel is emphasised by the alternating convex and concave surfaces, with differing diameters, and the presence of the angels. The floral decoration is rendered with an easy movement in low relief. Appropriate tools are used to achieve alternating shiny and dull surfaces; this painterly conception is completed by the gilding. The stamps on it suggest that it came to the Monastery at the beginning of the 18th century.[1]

These two works are examples of the Venetian baroque of the second half of the 17th century; their characteristic features are the monumental forms in soft relief, the cast details, and the fact that they are designed to be viewed from a distance. They follow the baroque tendency by which naturalistic repoussé flowers formed a predominant motif in the decoration of silver vessels. This was formulated about the middle of the 17th century in Germany, and especially in Augsburg, from where it spread to the major centres of Europe; there were local variations, of course, thanks to the broad scale of production, the mobility of the craftsmen, and the circulation of engraved pattern books for goldsmiths and jewellers.[2]

The 17th century Russian icon[3] (fig. 38) is mentioned in the archives at the beginning of the 18th century as 'an icon of the Virgin, decorated, from Muscovy', 'with a gilded plaque of silver and set with a number of stones and pearls from Muscovy'. Iconographically, it follows the type of the Virgin of Kazan.[4] It has a number of heterogeneous decorative elements, and belongs to the aesthetic perceptions of 16th and 17th century Russia. A feature of these 'decorated' icons is the 'crown' and the 'tsata', the crescent-shaped piece of metal that hangs on the icon, facing in the opposite direction to the 'crown'.[5] In the Patmos icon, the head and neck of the Virgin and the neck of Christ are adorned with pearls sewn onto cloth, a form of decoration found in the priestly vestments of the period. Between the two figures hangs a small stone cross set with silver and stones, of the so-called 'Chersonese type'.[6] The background and frame of the icon are covered with plaques of metal richly engraved with symmetrical scrolls on a ring-punched ground, possibly the work of a craftsman from Jaroslav,[7] a centre famous for the quality of its engraving. Features typical of the workshops of the Kremlin in the 17th century can be detected on the 'crown' and the 'tsata': the strong relief, and the small dentate leaves amongst the intertwining scrolls, combined with open flowers and stones.[8] In chronological terms, these elements are perhaps somewhat later than the engraved metal plaques.

Other roads, those of the alms missions, brought to the Monastery icons and vessels from distant parts. They were handed over officially 'before the congregation', an event recorded in some detail: 'in 1698, in the month of July, there came the old man Gedeon from Muscovy. And he brought with him the icon of the great Theologian. A decorated icon, as it seems, and it cost 350 piastres, and he also brought a very fine Gospel book, and it cost 300 piastres, and a mug and a chalice, also very fine, with the gold smoked...'.[9] The 'decorated' icon of the Theologian, framed in silver, is today one of the icons on the iconostasis in the katholikon.[10] The 'very fine' Gospel book (figs. 46-47) was purchased for the Monastery from the proceeds of the alms mission ('through the charity of the Christians') and the personal efforts ('through the toils') of Gedeon, who is accordingly mentioned in the dedicatory inscription.[11] The front of the Gospel book has a repoussé scene of the Descent into Hell, a symmetrical, multi-figural composition, developed in a large number of planes. Around it, set in rectangular panels, are scenes from the Passion of Christ, with the Evangelists in the corners. On the back is a similarly detailed scene of the Dormition of the Virgin, surrounded by a border of prophets, colonnettes and acanthus leaves. The central panel at the top has the Annunciation, and that at the bottom, the dedicatory inscription. The spine of the book is covered with a dense network typical of the Romanian bindings[12] of the end of the 15th century. The work bears the stamp of the craftsman Georg May II (1688-1712).[13]

This type of binding was produced, in a number of variations, in the workshops of Transylvania from the end of the 17th to about the middle of the 18th centuries, and was the work of the most famous craftsmen.[1] One of these was Georg May II, who came from a family of goldsmiths from Braşov and was goldsmith at the court of Constantine Brîncoveanu, prince of Wallachia. He was famous for his great productivity and skill in making a variety of different objects.[2] Some of the characteristic features of his work are the sculptural, noble quality of his figures, the meticulous execution, and the mingling of Byzantine iconographic types with western style. The baroque elements are limited here to the discreet acanthus leaves framing the prophets; these are more pronounced in some of his other works. The long metalworking tradition of Transylvania, invigorated by the infusion of Saxon craftsmen and the proximity of the area with Central Europe, facilitated contacts with western artistic currents and led to their importation in local versions, which in turn influenced the silverware of the southern Balkans, mainly in the 18th century. It is worth noting that the iconographic type of the binding of this Gospel book occurs in Greece and Asia Minor, in an identical form, or enriched with Rococo elements, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries.[3]

A mug (*mastrapas*) 'with the gold smoked' was another of the vessels brought back by Gedeon from his 'journey to Muscovy'. This could conceivably be the gilded 'sanctification' vessel (fig. 15), since, although the stamp cannot be identified, it has the shape of stamps from Braşov,[4] and the form and style of the mug point to a 17th century Transylvanian workshop. A beer tankard intended for some well-to-do bourgeois house, it forms another example of the use of an inappropriate secular vessel in Orthodox worship. It has the typical form of tankards of its type, which made its appearance in south Germany during the Renaissance and spread, in a large number of formal and decorative variations, to the countries in which beer was consumed.[5]

The Patmos tankard is related to the German types made in Transylvania: a low tapering cylindrical body, and a lid that is frequently surmounted by a human figure, an animal or a floral design – shapes which are often also found on the handle.[6] The body has cupids in low relief, framed by engraved cartouches set on a ring-punched ground, with compositions of fruit between them. The lid and the base have a similar floral decoration. The painterly conception, the motifs used, and the elegant appearance set this object within the style of Mannerism. This refined style originally covered the needs of the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie, but subsequently travelled with the craftsmen, the designers and the pattern books throughout Europe, finally reaching more common, functional objects such as this.[7] It continued to be found in Transylvania to the end of the 18th century.[8]

OTHER OBJECTS: END OF THE 17th–BEGINNING OF THE 18th CENTURIES

A pair of flabella, each with a repoussé seraph, should be dated towards the end of the 17th century (fig. 22). The faces and backgrounds of these are gilded, in contrast with the large, finely-drawn wings, which retain the colour of the silver. Engravings of small, open, flowers are scattered over the background on one side. On the other, the background is covered with branches, amongst which are loose intertwining stems and flowers of Ottoman type, and birds. Here and there are distortions of motifs borrowed from the carved wooden iconostases of the 17th century. These details give the work a certain freshness, despite the evidence of clumsiness in the design and execution, and suggest that they were perhaps worked by a craftsman from the area around Patmos. It is worth noting the scrolls decorating one of the sides of the knot, a motif that occurs frequently from the beginning of the 18th century, when craftsmen began to depart from Ottoman models.

An example of this new conception is furnished by the cross dedicated to the Monastery in 1711 by 'The Most Holy Kyr Nikephoros of Zitounion, from the island of Patmos'.[1] This large cross on a foot (fig. 19) has a 17th century style knot, though it is set about half way up the stem and is not used as a finial. The arrangement of the small icons at the sides, with prophets and martyrs, is also an earlier element, though this is not true of their frames, with their elegant supports. The main scenes on the carved wooden body of the cross are the Nativity and the Crucifixion, around which are set multi-figural, detailed scenes from the Dodekaorton, worked with perspective depth. The silver mounting has bright gilded surfaces alternating with ring-punched surfaces that have the colour of the dull silver, producing a studied, two-tone harmony. The delicate relief scrolls and floral motifs, and flowers with large, waving petals represent a different artistic conception, influenced by Baroque.[2] As time went on, these motifs became increasingly important in 18th century works, with local variations, of course.[3] The beginnings of this use of two colours are also to be found in a censer which, in 1713, 'was completed at the expense of the most reverend Kyr Athanasios, from Kos', who was later abbot of the Monastery (fig. 13).[4] The lid of the censer is in the shape of a church, with open-work floral decoration and small domes – seven of which have towers – arranged in three planes; the lower part of the lid has arches with degenerated Late Gothic decoration. The censer is an interesting example of the combination of different styles: Constantinopolitan Baroque, with the delicate flowers, and volutes and floral motifs that later became predominant, here coexists with Gothic survivals that were still found in the late 18th century.[5]

MAJOR DONORS OF THE 18th CENTURY: OBJECTS FROM RUSSIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE

During this century, too, important pieces continued to be donated by major figures in the Church and found their way into the treasury. On 2nd September 1722 'there came a prelate, Kyr Agapios by name, who became a brother in the monastery, and dedicated a box of smoked silver, with five relics in it...'.[6] This donation survives, and has the owner's inscription ('at the expense of the monk Agapios'). Three days later, on 5th September 1722, the bishop of Karyoupolis, Agathangelos, nicknamed 'Latinos',[7] donated to the Monastery 'a box of gilded silver, made in Muscovy, with sacred relics'. In the official act of donation, on 4th December 1722[8] Agathangelos describes the box as 'gilded silver inside and outside, with five cupolas with five sacred relics – those of the blessed Chrysostomos, of the great martyr Georgios, of the great martyr Panteleimon, of the first martyr Stephen, and of the holy martyr Petros of Lampsacus, with icons of them inside the box, gilded, which he says above that he is giving in return for a memorial service'. This description, however, completely fits the box dedicated by Agapios. What happened between the second and the fifth of September 1722? The archive is silent. Are we dealing with one and the same person, who was called Agapios as a monk and changed his name to Agathangelos when he became a prelate? Or are we dealing with two people, who came to an agreement, resulting in the reliquary changing ownership?

The outside of this box (fig. 52) has silver revetment with repoussé decoration, dominated by rich compositions in high relief of branches with fruit and flowers, acanthus leaves and volutes with large naturalistic flowers. On the ends, the decoration is more tranquil, and the volutes rather stylised. This is also true of the silver sheet covering the top. Of the 'five cupolas' alluded to in the desription of 1722, only five symmetrically arranged screws survive. The double-headed eagle, the stamp of Moscow, confirms that it was 'made in Muscovy', probably in the second decade of the 18th century.[9] The interior of the reliquary

is covered by a sheet of metal with tranquil, slightly stylised decoration; the remains of the saints mentioned above can be seen through openings made for the purpose, the outlines of which are emphasised by mother-of-pearl. On the inside of the lid, which opens at a right angle, the corresponding saint is depicted exactly opposite each relic, full-length and frontally, on a repoussé gilded sheet. Their faces and hands can be seen through holes in the metal, painted on the wood of the lid. The decoration of the reliquary represents a continuation of the Baroque of the end of the 17th century, enriched by fruit and acanthus leaves.[1] Despite its contents, the most distinctive features of the box are the variety of motifs, the movement, the sculptural quality and the meticulous execution. The stylised volutes on the lid belong to the late phase of German Baroque.[2] The saints, depicted frontally and hieratically, in accordance with the Byzantine tradition, are in striking contrast with the decorative concept.

The donor of the reliquary, Agathangelos, became a brother at the Monastery in 1722, rented the metochion of Zakynthos and in 1736, shortly before he died, on Kerkyra, dictated his will, in which he bequeathed many precious objects to the Monastery.[3] Amongst them was his enkolpion, 'a jewel adorned with a variety of stones', which cost him 'two hundred and thirty gold sequins' (figs. 23-24). In the centre of the enkolpion is a large oval stone of a deep violet colour (amethyst?), on which is incised a full-length frontal figure of Christ in the hieratic, official type found as early as the 10th century in manuscripts and small-scale sculptures.[4] He is holding a closed Gospel book in his left hand and blessing with his right, and standing on a small cushion. The face, hair and clothes are executed with rough lines. The entire work betrays a certain clumsiness: the feet are turned in a three-quarters stance, though Christ is portrayed frontally. The incisions on the arms of the crossed nimbus (O ΩN), and the cushion, on which emperors and archangels, mainly of the Paleologan period, usually stand, are features pointing to a date in the late Byzantine period for the engraved stone.[5] This central element is encircled by small, red, precious stones, and is set in a circlet of larger stones, each of which is surrounded by a border covered with painted enamel. Three impressively large precious stones hang from its lower edge. There were probably also two smaller ones that have not survived.[6] The reverse of the enkolpion (fig. 24) has a tiny Russian icon with a depiction of Saint Nicholas in the centre. This is encircled by the backs of the gilded mounts of the precious stones, which are decorated with painted enamel in the centre and around the border.

This enkolpion is an example of the custom of including small, earlier icons of jasper, agate, or some other material, in bishop's and patriarch's pectorals.[7] In this case a number of materials, techniques and styles were combined. Some of the stones in the border still have a mount in the shape of a discreet flower, though the use of enamel, especially on the back, is novel; the technique is found in Russia from the 17th century, and was a feature of Russian works throughout the 18th century.[8] A number of formal and stylistic affinities between the enkolpion and similar pieces in Moscow from the beginning of the 18th century, support the view that this one, too, was made there.[9] It is a priceless work, of which Agathangelos of Karyoupolis was justly proud.

The enkolpion of Kyrillos of Kyzikos (1686-1711), which came into the possession of the Monastery at an unknown date (figs. 25-26), is similar to that of Agathangelos. On one side of it the decoration consists predominantly of precious stones. Large, polygonal emeralds, rubies and diamonds, with three large emeralds on the lower edge, form a harmonious composition. The gilded and enamelled mounts of the stones, and the open-work background help to produce an impressive range of colour, typical of the aesthetic taste of Constantinople. The back has an emerald, acting as a reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross, or the relic of a saint, and is encircled by the owner's inscription:[10] Kyrillos beseeches

Christ to give him the grace to wear this enkolpion at all the services in honour of His mother, the Virgin, with whom the scenes on it are connected: there are miniature paintings in enamel, depicting Christ in Glory at the top, the Annunciation in the middle, bishops at the bottom, and prophets and angels around the border. Some of the details are interesting, such as the oil-lamps in the scene of the Annunciation, which resemble the lamps of a Moslem shrine, and the decorative flowers, which are rendered according to the western engraved models to be found in the special pattern books.[1] From the middle of the 17th century, this type of delicate floral decoration was also used in Constantinople.[2] These features reinforce the view that the enkolpion was of Constantinopolitan origin.

The technique of painted enamel is also a feature of the bishop's staff of Gerasimos of Old Patrai, in which it is combined with other decorative materials (fig. 28). The archives reveal that in '1761 the holy Kyr Gerasimos of Old Patrai came to the monastery and made his vows, becoming a brother of the monastery'.[3] Gerasimos died in 1772 in his birthplace, Santorini, but did not fail, in accordance with the usual practice, to bequeath to the Monastery his staff, omophorion and epigonation. The staff, which has the date 1733, belongs to the first stage of his career, when he was Metropolitan of Thebes.[4] It is a colourful object, with tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl attached to the shaft by large silver nails, painted enamel on the knots, and ivory carved in the form of asps on the head.

One of the finest works of this period, and one of the most precious objects in the treasury, is the 'fine diamond crown' of Patriarch Kyprianos (1708-9 and 1713-4), presented to the Monastery, according to tradition, by the Patmian Patriarch Neophytos VI (fig. 27).[5] The lower part of the inner solid sheet of metal is covered by a complicated network of cast, floral decoration studded with small diamonds, emeralds, rubies (?) and pearls. This network covers the entire mitre in the shape of a cross. The decoration includes a number of repoussé metal plaques: that above the forehead has a representation of Christ enthroned, as the Great High Priest, and there are four others arranged symetrically on the top of the mitre, with busts of the Evangelists. These are surrounded by twisted or flat wire decoration, with small enamel plaques in shades of green and blue. The decoration is completed by large precious stones and a cross at the top. How and when (certainly after 1770) the mitre came into the hands of the Monastery is unknown. It is mentioned neither in the act of dedication of Neophytos VI, nor in his will (1747).[6] And when, in 1763, the Patriarchate laid claim to the staff of Dionysios IV, which was owned by the Monastery and had been bought by Neophytos along with the mitre (v.s. p. 228), it made no mention of the mitre.[7] The initials Ρ Β Γ Ρ Μ, and the date 1770 on the enamel plaque, have not yet been interpreted, and therefore have no contribution to make to the solution of this problem. The style is of little assistance in coming to a definite view, since the production of this type of enamel persisted into the late 18th century.

A Russian 'sanctification' cross of 1725 (fig. 20), the metal mounting of which is adorned with Moscow enamel, represents a small group of similar uninscribed crosses that have found their way into the treasury on Patmos, possibly as dedications, or the result of an alms mission in 'Muscovy'. The characteristic features of these are the use of white enamel in small cavities, to look like pearls (hence the term 'enamel pearls'), the small cast motifs within the coloured enamelled surface, and the painted brush-strokes on it, mainly of yellow.[8] This enamel decoration is widely found in the 17th century in secular and liturgical vessels,[9] and was used for quite a long period, since it occurs in 1743, in a cross of the Monastery of Putna in Romania.[10] The carved wooden kernel has representations of the Baptism, with the Crucifixion in the middle of the other side, accompanied by busts of angels and full-length figures of the Evangelists.

One detail of this cross is indicative of the mentality of the period. The original owner's

inscription on the edge of the foot, bearing the date 1725, was covered with a metal plate on which was incised a second inscription with the name of the Patmian prelate Misael of Didymoteichon, and the date 1760.[1] The *Brevium* of the Monastery, however, states that Misael died in 1746.[2] The inscription was obviously engraved by someone who knew that the cross had belonged to him, and who was concerned to perpetuate his memory.

THE GREEK CLIMATE OF THE 18th CENTURY: SMYRNA

In the 18th century, after 1720, there was an increase in Patmian naval and commercial activity. The travellers speak of a rich island, famous in the West, with domed churches, beautiful houses, inhabitants who spoke many languages, and elegant women. Patmos was enjoying a period of economic prosperity. It was matched by the intellectual prestige of the island, which owed much to the personality of Makarios Kaloyeras and the foundation of the Patmian School (1713).[3]

Most of the island's requirements for church silverware were now met by craftsmen from the surrounding area. Naturally, there are a number of exceptional pieces that came from Constantinople, like the chandelier donated by Neophytos VI;[4] but at this period, the influx of Western objects into the treasury does not match either the frequency of contacts with the West, or the volume of jewellery imported for Patmian women, or silverware for the houses.[5] Around the end of the 18th century, the centre of gravity for church silverware shifts to Russia.

In the first half of the 18th century, prosperous communities like Patmos and Symi, and large religious foundations, such as the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, and that of the Panayia Spiliani on Nisyros, acquired a large number of excellent works. Local production in the south-east Aegean, however, at least as seen on many of the islands, was on a relatively limited scale. A leading role in the formulation of the artistic climate of silverware was played by Ioannis the Peloponnesian, a very productive craftsman with a distinctive style, who worked mainly on the revetments of icons. Some of his works survive on Patmos.[6] Research on Crete has not yet advanced to the point where we can say whether the role of the island in the development of church silverware in the area matched that played by it in painting and wood-carving in the preceding centuries.[7]

From the second half of the 18th century, and perhaps even earlier, Smyrna, which evolved rapidly in economic terms during this period, seems to have become a major centre in this field.[8] The interests of the sailors and merchants from Patmos, and the metochion of the Monastery at Smyrna[9] were reasons enough to account for the close relations between the island and this city; these resulted in the acquisition of many silver goods from there, including some important works, such as the chest containing the relic of Hosios Christodoulos. There was a steady increase in the number of signed works at this period: south-east Aegean craftsmen, from the islands or Asia Minor, frequently added their place of origin to their name. Works by them are to be found even in rural communities – an indication of the general rise in standard of living. The quality, of course, does not match the quantity, and is often not of the same level as that of the first half of the 18th century. These facts, however, attest to a new Greek artistic reality, founded on the rising communities and the flourishing local centres of Orthodoxy. The desire for renewal, however, often destroyed the earlier forms: fashion introduced new models, and earlier objects were re-used as raw material for the fabrication of works 'in a better art'.

The first period of the 18th century is represented by the silver revetment of the icon of Saint George (1738), which is certainly to be attributed to Ioannis the Peloponnesian (fig.

57). Iconographically, it probably followed the subject of the icon itself, which was characteristic of the post-Byzantine period. The mounted Saint George, on a rearing horse, occupies one of the diagonals of the scene; the other is taken up by the lance, which pierces the dragon. The scene is full of tempestuous movement: the horse comes out of the frame of the picture, and the saint's cloak is blowing in the wind; the horse's tail and equipment however, do not follow. It is interesting to note the co-existence here of the monumental conception of the mounted Saint (though the turn of the body is rather clumsy), the picturesque treatment of the landscape, and the very meticulous decoration of the background and the frame. The last two are typical of the work of Ioannis. The inscription indirectly praises the power of the art of the Peloponnesian, which is able to bring Saint George back to earth, thanks to the gift by the donor.[1]

The second phase of the 18th century, and the workshops of Smyrna, are represented by a large number of pieces. The characteristic features of these are the very good quality of the silver, the use of forms and decorative motifs that echo Venetian influence, and the careful detail in the execution. An example of good work from a workshop in Smyrna is furnished by a pair of altar candlesticks[2] (fig. 6), donated by Theodosios, protosynkelos of Smyrna, in 1759.[3] Their shape follows Venetian models, as may be seen from a comparison with the elegant Venetian candlesticks of the 18th century[4] (fig. 7), also in the treasury of the Monastery. The pyramidal base, with animals' feet, supports a stem that links together the hammered and cast pieces of the main body; the top of it is formed in a similar manner, to hold the candle. The Smyrna candlestick has a spiral decoration, originally a floral motif found in Venetian vessels;[5] in a more stylised form, this later became a common motif on Smyrna oil-lamps.

Two objects donated by the monk Iakovos Anastasiou[6] were probably also produced in Smyrna: a chalice bearing the date of its dedication – 1756 – and a handled censer. These share a number of stylistic and decorative features: angels' heads, shell-fish and delicately worked floral motifs. The chalice (fig. 42) belongs to a group in which there are certain similarities in the open-work decoration of the cup, the predominant motifs being repoussé seraphim and floral designs, here more delicate and stylised than in some other works.[7]

The handled censer (fig. 5) has a metal plaque on the handle with a representation of Saint John the Theologian, to whose church it was donated[8] – at once an attempt to guarantee the safety of the dedication and evidence of the piety felt towards its recipient. The lid has degenerated domes towards the bottom, with an open-work, fluted surface above them – a decorative style characteristic of Smyrna oil-lamps. This feature also occurs on the body of a magnificent oil-lamp of 1770 (fig. 9) donated by the Patmian Mavroudis, with a contribution by Parthenios. The long, archaising inscription that encircles the rim and the body includes an encomium and invocation of Saint John the Theologian, praise of the donor and his parents, and the request usually accompanying donations, that the sins of the entire family be forgiven.[9] The lamp, which was clearly influenced by Western forms, is supported by chains formed of pieces of metal in the shape of shields and double-headed eagles wearing crowns. The body has gadroons with open-work Rococo motifs and spirals. The careful attention to detail, and an elegance bordering on sophistication are the characteristic features of the work.

In 1796 the former abbot Parthenios Chatzikos brought from Smyrna the gilded silver metal revetment for the chest (fig. 53) that now contains the relic of Hosios Christodoulos in the chapel dedicated to his memory.[10] On the front is a scene of the Dormition of the Hosios: a bishop, priests and deacons are paying him the honours usually associated with saints; the Lord is descending from the heavens. At either end, in cartouches framed by Rococo flowers,[11] are Saint John the Theologian and Prochoros, recalling the great moment in the

history of Patmos. The symmetrically arranged figures, the gentle movement towards the centre, and the dominating figure of the Hosios in repose, create an atmosphere of inspiring grandeur, which is reinforced by the linear treatment of the drapery, the gilded vestments and vessels, and the meticulous attention to detail.

OTHER 18th CENTURY OBJECTS

Another of the many donations by the monk Iakovos Anastasiou is an incense box in the shape of a church, an interesting example of a mixture of different periods and styles (fig. 16). It stands on a high foot, which is not an organic part of it and was clearly added in order to make it easier for the deacon to hold. This foot probably originally came from a Venetian vessel of the 16th century, according to the stamps on it[1] and will have been donated to the Monastery, as is clear from the owner's inscription.[2] On the ends of the box are depictions of Saint John the Theologian and Saint James the Lord's Brother. The owner's inscription is incised on the reverse.[3] The other surfaces are adorned with large, gilded, stylised flowers and acanthus leaves, worked in low relief. In the centre of the lid there are three towers, in a degenerated Gothic form, surmounted by crosses. Around the edges are metal plaques with relief seraphim. This box is perhaps one of the latest examples of a group in the Museums and treasuries of Romania,[4] and especially of Yugoslavia.[5] Many of them are believed to have been made in the workshops of Herzegovina and Ćiprovac.[6] Chronologically, they cover the period from 1550 to 1705, and combine Gothic and mainly Ottoman features; the earliest are more austere in form and decoration. The Patmos box retains some late Gothic features combined with Baroque floral motifs rendered in a local version.[7]

The production of filigree enamel persisted throughout the 18th century; it is represented in the Patmos treasury by a chalice and a 'sanctification' cross. The chalice (fig. 44), presented by Kallinikos of Samos in 1753,[8] has a distinctive, harmonious combination of the two colours of the gold and the green enamel; the foot and the calyx have panels of twisted wire, each containing a repoussé silver angel's head between them. The angel's wings, and the floral decoration surrounding him, are formed of finely worked wire filled with enamel. In the 'sanctification' cross, a charged work of the second half of the 18th century, the filigree enamel is enriched by the addition of granulated decoration and stones made of glass paste (fig. 31). As time went on, complex wire crosses became the predominant form, with more limited use of enamel. In this case, the basic scenes carved in wood, the Baptism and Crucifixion, are accompanied by scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin, Evangelists and Saints Constantine and Helen. A feature of this cross, and of a group of others from the same period, is the use of stylised flowers at the top corners, and the cast dragons at the sides – a 17th century characteristic, though here in a different rendering.[9] The Patmos cross is rather plain, when compared with others, which are richly decorated with volutes, towers and birds.

The princely dedications by 'our most pious lord and master, Kyr Michael Soutsos, Voivod' and his entourage are the predominant feature of the period 1784-87. The commissions were executed, and the donations delivered, by the Patmian Daniel of Sebasteia.[10] 'Moreover, at the expense of the prince, I also made the silver box for the sacred relics, for 355 piastres, which I later renewed, spending 460 piastres of my own money', he notes in 1787.[11] The lid of the rectangular reliquary (fig. 54) has the prince's emblem in the middle, between the archangels Gabriel and Michael, after whom the prince was named. In the dedicatory inscription, Michael Soutsos, his wife and children, request the Lord to protect them through the intercession of the saints whose relics are preserved in

the reliquary.[1] Around the edge of the lid and on the sides of the box there is a pattern in low relief of interlaced floral scrolls and open flowers – Rococo motifs, like the rocaille on the front. The piece has a delicate, elegant air, despite the rather stylised overall effect. One of the oil-lamps which Daniel of Sebasteia says he brought from Wallachia is without doubt the one dedicated by Ioannis Soutsos and Maria Gika in 1786[2] (fig. 10). The metrical inscription running around the rim asks Hosios Christodoulos to accept their gift, since he is able to intercede with Christ and ask him to protect them from all evil.[3] The body of the lamp has an alternating pattern of flowers in low relief, less naturalistic than those on similar lamps from Transylvania of the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries.[4] Similarities with oil-lamps made in Greece and Constantinople suggest that we should seek some of the routes followed by Baroque.[5]

'The gilded silver Gospel which is mentioned in the chrysobull (...) I made (...) which cost 569 piastres' noted Daniel of Sebasteia in 1787.[6] The dedicatory inscription on it (fig. 48) states that he himself brought it to the Cave of the Revelation from Bucharest, in 1787,[7] and the involvement of Michael Soutsos is indicated by the prince's emblem on the reverse of the Gospel book (fig. 49). The inclusion of Daniel's name, here and on the front, underlines the importance of the intermediary, and gives him equal status in the memory and respect of future generations. The Gospel book has scenes of the Crucifixion on the front, and the Descent into Hell on the back, with the four Evangelists and prophets, respectively, in the corners. These main representations are surrounded by thirteen medallions with miniature scenes from the Revelation. The spine is covered by a network of small, cast, open flowers. The iconographic type of this Gospel book first appeared in Transylvania towards the end of the 17th century,[8] and was clearly inspired by German engravings by major painters-engravers, who were illustrating the Bible from the end of the 15th century.[9] Compared with the earlier examples of this type, the scenes in the Patmos Gospel are rather stylised, and the execution of the figures and floral decoration is stiff. The date will undoubtedly have been a factor in this, as will the place of manufacture, Bucharest, where the quality was not on the same level as that of Transylvania.

OBJECTS FROM THE 19th CENTURY

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the archives indicate that the Monastery was experiencing a period of economic difficulty, and appealed to the Patriarchate for support. The travellers, however, make no reference, even in the late 19th century, to signs of decline in the community, which would have attended the economic and social changes at the end of the century.[10] Treasures continued to collect in the monastery, at any rate, even though the quality of them is inferior; aesthetic preferences were now for gaudy objects, and its economic means, particularly in the second half of the 19th century, allowed only for works that were frequently without artistic pretensions, and machine produced. It is worth stressing, however, that from the end of the 18th century, contacts with Russia intensified, and Russian objects multiplied, as a further consequence of the systematic policy of Catherine the Great.[11]

From this period we have an artophorion of outstanding quality[12] (figs. 33-34). The front of it has the form of a church with a portico supported on five twisted colonnettes. and surmounted by a fluted dome with a cross.[13] The reverse is flat. The central section on the front, beneath the apse, has a depiction of Christ inside a chalice, beneath an apse, a scene related to the Eucharist. The flutings on the dome alternate between gilded, undecorated and silver, decorated with the same shoot that winds around the colonnettes at the front.[14]

The reverse has scenes of the Hospitality of Abraham at the top, and the Last Supper in the middle, a subject related to the liturgical use of the artophorion; at the bottom, Hosios Christodoulos is offering a model of the Monastery to Saint John the Theologian, his presence guaranteeing the safety of the donation. The composition is enriched by the use of flowers, rocailles and stones of glass paste in Rococo settings.[1] The distinctive features of the work are the monumental concept of the overall design, a stiffness in individual scenes, and a pronounced decorative tendency; these elements, intended to produce an impressive effect, became predominant characteristics from the end of the 18th century.

In the first decades of the 19th century, the dominant personality on Patmos was that of Nektarios of Sardis, '... who was a new founder and help and defender of our Sacred Monastery, as his pious and edifying works reveal...'.[2] In 1826 he wrote to the Monastery dedicating, amongst other items, '... a staff of silver, a pair of dikerotrikera, and a book of the four Gospels, with the Acts of the Apostles'.[3] In order to protect the dikerotrikera (fig. 14), he warns in the dedicatory inscription that anyone who removes them from the Monastery of Saint John will be rewarded by the curse of the saint and of Nektarios himself.[4] Two thirds of the way up are candle-holders, resting on asps that emerge from the calyxes of flowers; the central stem is surmounted by a cross. The rather inelegant circular foot is decorated by strongly stylised, lance-shaped leaves. Their shape and decoration is reminiscent of Russian objects from the period of Neoclassicism, which influenced Greek silverware from the beginning of the 19th century.[5]

The linear painterly conception in the work of Athanasios Tzimouris from Kallarrytes in Epiros[6] can be seen in the cover of a Gospel book (figs. 50-51), dedicated, according to a note inside it, by the brother of the Monastery, Chrysanthos, protosynkelos of Smyrna (1818).[7] The Gospel book has recently been re-covered in velvet, to which are attached gilded metal plaques, lightly worked in relief, with Rococo frames, like those of the copperplate engravings of the period.[8] The front and back have scenes of the Descent into Hell and the Crucifixion respectively, accompanied by the Evangelists and prophets. The spaces in between, and the spine, are adorned with small seraphim. This Gospel book is a type not found in the series of variations produced by Tzimouris and the craftsmen who used the same kinds of matrices.[9] It was probably made sometime between 1811, the date when the Gospel book was published, and 1818, the date when it was dedicated - a period coinciding with Tzimouris' activity. It cannot, of course, be attributed to him personally with any certainty, on the evidence available at present, though there are persuasive similarities.

The plate (fig. 55) is a good example of an object bearing a representation of the saint to whom it is dedicated; here, Saint John the Theologian is depicted in the centre. It follows the usual form of plate, with a floral border, influenced originally by Baroque, and later by Rococo; in this case there is no marked preference for any particular style. The drawing is loose, and the execution flat and lacking in inspiration – both characteristic features of the works of this period. Its style connects it with plates from Asia Minor.[10]

A completely different workshop is represented by the small book of the four Gospels, (fig. 45), the work of Thomas the Goldsmith from Karyes on Mount Athos (1847), dedicated by Anthimos from Kephallinia, a monk of the Monastery of Saint Paul on Athos.[11] It is an example of the small, luxuriously bound book with the four Gospels, commonly found in the first decades of the 19th century, and an interesting specimen of the work produced by the workshops on Mount Athos, which continued the tradition to the present day.

The treasury contains many other objects from the 19th century. These include a number of Russian, standardised products, machine produced in large workshops, or 'factories'.

They come mainly from Moscow, which remained faithful to the tradition of Old Russia, and produced works for export.[1]

The collection of silver in the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos reflects in its composition the history of the south-east Aegean: changes of master, commercial activity, artistic influences, and long-term mental processes. Orthodox worship and the household equipment of mansions underwent modernisation, following the broader European trends, with some lag of time resulting from the distances involved, and with the exercise of certain choices dictated by the historical conjunctures. In the field of silverware, as in those of embroidery, icons and documents, the Monastery was able, because of its power, prestige, and above all its spiritual children, to assemble a collection of representative objects from the whole of Europe. The systematic publication of the collection will afford fuller evidence of the importance of the Monastery as a treasury of Orthodoxy, and of European art.

1. Gilded silver flabellum of twisted wire. Originally donated by Stephen the Great to the Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos. 1468.

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2. Cast censer with Gothic features. From a Western workshop. 14th-15th centuries.

3. Cast polykandelon with open-work floral decoration. Made by the monk Gerasimos. 1685.

4. Incense box in the shape of a boat with rich decoration in a Renaissance style. Venetian stamp. 16th century.

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5. Handled censer with an open-work lid in the shape of a church, and features of a Smyrna workshop. Donated by the monk Iakovos Anastasiou. c. 1760.

6 7

6. Candlestick from a Smyrna workshop, donated by Theodosios, protosynkelos of Smyrna. 1759.

7. Candlestick with a Venetian stamp. 18th century.

8. Lamp with relief and cast Baroque decoration. Venetian stamp. Beginning of the 18th century.

9. Lamp from a Smyrna workshop with open-work Rococo decoration. Donated by the Patmian Mavroudis. 1770.

10

10. Lamp from Bucharest with open-work floral decoration. Donated by Ioannis Soutzos and Maria Gika. 1786.

11

12

11. Lamp with engraved, open-work arabesques. 16th-17th centuries.

12. Small tankard with engraved animal and floral designs. 16th century.

13

14

15

13. Censer of cast silver, with gilding, decorated with Late Gothic and Baroque features. Constantinopolitan workshop (?). Donated by the monk Athanasios. 1713.

14. Dikerotrikera of silver with gilding, decorated with Neo-classical features. Donated by Nektarios of Sardis. Beginning of the 19th century.

15. Tankard of gilded silver, decorated with Manneristic motifs. Brasov workshop (?). 17th century.

16. Incense box of silver with gilding, decorated with Late Gothic and Baroque features. Donated by the monk Iakovos Anastasiou. 1757. Foot dating from the 16th century.

16

17. Processional cross, of Western origin; silver with gilding and rich relief, cast and engraved decoration. c. 1500 (?).

18

18. The reverse side of the cross in fig. 17.

19

20

21

19. Cross in a silver mounting, with gilding and decoration influenced by Baroque. Donated by Nikephoros of Zitounion. 1711.

20. Sanctification cross in a gilded silver mounting, with filigree decoration, enamel and stones of glass paste. It belonged to Misael of Didymoteichon. Moscow workshop. 1725.

21. Sanctification cross in a gilded silver mounting with filigree enamel: the decoration includes cast serpents, birds and flowering branches in 'champlevé' enamel. Constantinopolitan workshop (?). Second half of the 17th century.

22

22. Silver flabellum with gilding. Possibly from a workshop in the area around Patmos. End of the 17th century.

23

25

24

26

27

27. The patriarchal mitre of Kyprianos, donated by the Patmian Patriarch Neophytos VI. Gilded silver with relief and enamel plaques, filigree decoration and precious stones. 1708-1714 (?).

23-24. The enkolpion of Agathangelos of Karyoupolis. The precious stone in the centre, probably engraved in the Late Byzantine period, was set (in Moscow?) amongst precious stones and painted enamel, which dominate the reverse. Beginning of the 18th century.

25-26. The enkolpion of Kyrillos of Kyzikos, decorated with painted enamel, precious stones and emeralds. Probably from a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1686-1711.

28 29 30

28. The staff of Gerasimos of Old Patrai. Silver with gilding, filigree decoration and painted enamel, ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell and precious (?) stones. 1733.

29. The staff of Nikephoros of Laodicea. Gilded silver, cast, with Ottoman decoration. 1615-1628.

30. The patriarchal staff of Dionysios IV, donated by the Patmian Patriarch Neophytos VI. Made by Michalakis Frantzis of Constantinople. Gilded silver, cast with translucent and opaque enamel and diamonds. 1667.

31

32

31. Sanctification cross in a gilded silver mounting, with filigree and granulated decoration, enamel and stones of glass paste. Second half of the 18th century.

32. Cross 'of blessing', set in silver with twisted wire, enamel, pearls, turquoise and stones of glass paste. Second half of the 17th century.

33. The reverse of the artophorion in fig. 34.

34. Monumental artophorion of silver with gilding, adorned with relief scenes and Rococo motifs. c. 1800.

35

36

37

35. Georgian pectoral reliquary-cross. Gold, decorated with relief scenes, pearls, turquoise and precious stones. Probably 16h century.

36. The reverse side of the cross in fig. 35.

37. Enkolpion of gilded silver, with a relief bust of Christ in an attitude of blessing. 15th century (?).

38. Russian icon, decorated with engraved and relief silver revetments, pearls, turquoise and precious (?) stones. 17th century.

39

40

39-40. Christ the Vine. (Details from the foot of the chalice in fig. 41).

41

41. Monumental silver gilded chalice with a relief representation of Christ, the Vine, and Renaissance-style ornamentation. Venetian stamp. 16th century.

42

43

44

42. Gilded silver chalice with relief, open-work decoration, probably from a Smyrna workshop. Donated by the monk Iakovos Anastasiou. 1756.

45

45. Cover of a book of the Four Gospels. Gilded silver with relief scenes. From a workshop on Mount Athos. Made by Thomas Chrysochoos (Goldsmith). Donated by the monk Anthimos Kephallineos. 1847.

43. Chalice of silver with gilding, stones of glass paste, and scenes highlighted by the use of niello. Ottoman floral decoration. Made by Panagos. 1676.

44. Chalice of silver with gilding, adorned with filigree decoration and enamel. Donated by Kallinikos of Samos. 1753.

46. Cover of a Gospel book. Gilded silver with relief scenes of the Descent into Hell and the Dormition of the Virgin. Brasov workshop, made by Georg May II. 1697.

47. The back of the Gospel book in fig. 46.

48. Cover of a Gospel book. Gilded silver with relief scenes of the Revelation. Bucharest workshop. Donated by the prince of Wallachia, Michael Soutsos. 1787.

49

49. The back of the Gospel book in fig. 48.

50. Cover of a Gospel book. Red velvet with gilded silver plaques bearing scenes in low relief. Donated by Chrysanthos, protosynkelos of Smyrna. c. 1815.

51

51. The back of the Gospel book in fig. 50.

52

52. Reliquary of silver with gilding, richly adorned with relief floral decoration. Donated by Agathangelos of Karyoupolis. Produced by a Moscow workshop. Second decade of the 18th century.

53. Revetment of the chest containing the relic of Hosios Christodoulos. Silver with gilding, adorned with a scene of the Dormition of the Hosios. Smyrna workshop. 1796.

54

54. Reliquary with Rococo style decoration in low relief. Donated by the prince of Wallachia, Michael Soutsos. 1784.

53

55

55. Plate with a representation of St. John the Theologian. Constantinopolitan workshop (?). c. 1820.

56. Sanctification basin with relief and cast Baroque decoration. Venetian stamp. Donated by Grigorios of Didymoteichon (1672-1693).

56

57

57. Revetment of an icon of Saint George. Silver with gilding. Made by Ioannis the Peloponnesian. 1738.

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

Although the library in the monastery of St. John on Patmos comprises nearly one thousand manuscripts, only about fifty (or five per cent) of them contain illustrations, and of these just over thirty are adorned with anything other than decorated initials and headpieces. Yet if the quantity of illustrated manuscripts is limited, the quality is certainly not. The Library contains a couple of spectacular copies of rather uncommon texts, illustrated with great originality, as well as various other volumes which, though more traditional in content and illustrated on a less ambitious scale, are among the finest specimens of their kind to be found in any library anywhere.

Some of these illustrated manuscripts date from the 9th to 10th century, but most belong to the period from the 11th to the 15th centuries. All illustrate sacred, primarily liturgical, texts – none of the secular works in this Library is accompanied by any form of figural illustration. There are Gospel books and Lectionaries adorned with portraits of the four Evangelists; there are liturgical rolls (including a number of illustrated post-Byzantine examples), volumes of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus and of the Lives of the Saints by Symeon Metaphrastes, a Heavenly Ladder of John Climax, and a Book of Job.

Whether any of these manuscripts was originally owned by Hosios Christodoulos himself is impossible for us to say. Christodoulos had certainly accumulated a fair number of books before he founded the monastery, and he had been awarded by the Patriarch of Constantinople one quarter of all the books from the monastic libraries on Latros in Asia Minor which the saint, then a monk on Latros, had succeeded in rescuing from Seljuk raids and bringing to the capital. But it is expressly stated in a Codicil to Christodoulos' Will that the books he was given were the ones 'without decoration'. Nor was the emperor overly generous: there is little evidence in the collection today that would suggest that Alexios I Comnenos presented the monastery library with anything more for its collection than a chrysobull. So, Christodoulos' tastes being probably those of a typical provincial monk of his time, his private collection most likely consisted not of glamorous illuminated books such as were being collected in court circles in Constantinople, but of those sober, edifying books, Homilies and Gospels devoid of artistic pretensions which still constitute the core of the Library today.

The Patmos library must have expanded considerably in the century following the death of Christodoulos in 1093, for an Inventory of its holdings drawn up in the year 1200 lists over 300 manuscripts. We still do not know which of these were illuminated: the contents of each book is noted, and sometimes its binding, but nowhere in this Inventory of 1200 is there any reference to the existence of illustrated texts. This makes it difficult for us to determine which of the illustrated manuscripts still in the library today was already there in the beginning of the 13th century. Only one, the Job (codex 171), can be fairly surely identified

on the basis of its description, even though what is specified in the Inventory is the size, script, and contents of the volume, not its illustrations.

It was over the course of the 12th and 13th centuries that the library must have acquired many of its more precious holdings. Christodoulos' own library, formed in all likelihood around the personal needs of a monk, could not have been adequate for the expanding community. It was a pressing concern of his successors to produce or acquire as quickly as possible a basic collection of liturgical books for the use of the monks (Psalters, Gospels, Lectionaries, Homily collections, Menologia). A scriptorium, envisaged already by Christodoulos, was thus promptly established.

Book illuminators may also have been employed in the monastery in this period: one manuscript known to have been produced on the island in the 12th century (Sinait. gr. 157) is embellished with some rather mediocre miniatures of the four Evangelists, and these could conceivably have been executed on the island as well. No other manuscript containing illustrations is actually documented as having been done on Patmos, nor is there any particular unity of style to be discerned among any group of illustrated volumes in the Library today that might suggest the existence of a local workshop. But it is quite possible that artists were brought to the island along with trained calligraphers.

Of course local production had to be supplemented by imports, and most of the illustrated volumes probably came from abroad. The monastery in this period was governed by a succession of abbots in close contact with both Constantinople and Jerusalem; its growing fame and financial resources meant that higher quality volumes could now be acquired from these centers, and that more and more donors could be attracted to endow the monastery with illustrated copies of the sacred texts.

THE BOOK OF JOB (Codex 171)

The earliest illuminated manuscript preserved today in the library of Patmos is the Book of Job (figs. 2-4); it certainly pre-dates the founding of the monastery, and may even be one of the earliest of all the illuminated Greek manuscripts still located in the Eastern Mediterranean today. It is a large volume and it is written entirely in uncials. It once contained the whole Book of Job (some pages have been lost at the beginning of the volume and from the 'Dialogue' section), as well as commentaries dedicated to nearly every verse of the Bible text. Each of these verses is in fact surrounded by so many lines of commentary that there is often only space for a few lines of actual text per page.

The first two chapters of Job (the so-called 'Prologue'), which extend all the way from pages 15-60, are accompanied by miniatures surely contemporary with the text. These miniatures add a visual commentary to complement the written commentaries; they are framed and take up the entire lower third of the page. Though sorely flaked and thus hard to decipher, they faithfully follow the textual narrative and display in a straightforward manner the prosperity of Job, then the disasters which befall his flocks, family, and, finally, his own person.

The miniature on p. 16 (fig. 2) shows the youthful sons and daughters of Job heading for a drinking party, led by the eldest son toward an entrance at the left. All are finely dressed, especially the daughters, who have golden hems and collars to their dresses, red slippers and silver tiaras in their hair. The figures move easily, turning to each other in a graceful frieze against a high purple background articulated with columns and panelled walls painted in

grisaille. Their faces are white and broad-cheeked, with eyes, noses and mouths drawn in black ink, cheeks and lips as red spots: there is no other facial modelling except for a thin olive shadow below the chin.

Other miniatures reinforce the impression conveyed by this miniature of the high social level of this family; one, for example, shows Job's children seated around a table in Roman style, being served by cup-bearers, and dining from a huge golden tureen.

As the calamities fall, the structure of each early composition is shattered one by one: robbers and mounted marauders slay the servants and steal the herds of Job; fire consumes the flocks of sheep and shepherds, and the house of his eldest son collapses onto the heads of Job's children as they feast. This latter composition (fig. 3) dramatically alters the earlier banquet scene: the columns and other architectural elements are now in pieces and hurtle around the room, and the human figures fall forward in wildly contorted poses. Late antique personifications of the four winds (*There came a great wind from the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house* – Job, 1, 19) are shown working to pull down the blocks; these figures are assimilated to Christian demons by their dark blue color, wild hair, and distorted profiles.

Two other miniatures on two facing pages (fig. 4) illustrate a further development of the narrative: Job covered with boils, sitting among the ashes. On page 52 there is a composition without frame, a walled city-scape piled high with domes and pitched roofs. From its gate emerge four young men, one putting his hand over his mouth, another on his chin in gestures of disgust and despair. On the opposite folio (p. 53), clearly at considerable distance from the city where he once lived, sits Job. Though depicted earlier in the manuscript as a venerable patriarch, Job is now entirely bald, and sits awkwardly on his ashheap clad only in a loincloth and covered with sores; he is rebuked by his wife, whose elegant attire contrasts sharply with his own miserable appearance. The four young men from the city bear witness to his disgrace.

This sequence of remarkable miniatures terminates on page 60, with the end of the second chapter of Job. Whether further illustrations were planned for the extant section of the volume is an open question; though there are empty spaces on the parchment which appear to have been reserved for miniatures, these can invariably be explained by the adjustments in the spacing of the text required in order to keep text and commentary together. The 'Dialogue' between Job and his comforters, illustrated at such length in later copies of Job, may have been left here without miniatures by the original designers of the volume. The titles of the chapters from here on are occasionally surmounted by ornamented headpieces, and one scribe has added fanciful birds and trees alongside his text. Toward the end of the volume (page 448 on) more miniatures in an entirely different style – flat and linear – were added; these are thought by some scholars to be contemporary with the opening miniatures, and by others to be additions painted in Italy sometime during the 11th century.

The manuscript has been attributed to centres as distant from each other as Central Asia Minor and Rome, and to dates as various as the 7th to 10th centuries, and there is still no consensus among scholars regarding either its place of origin or its date. We have only one sure piece of information about it: a note referring to purchase prices of workshops in Constantinople in 957 and 959 was written on an empty page at the end of the manuscript; this is our only sure *terminus ante quem.* And we can be all but certain that the manuscript is the one referred to in the Inventory of 1200 as 'another with commentary, Job'; this means it had reached Patmos by the year 1200 at the latest.

The late antique character of the manuscript is unmistakeable, and lends support to the

earlier dating: the uncial script, the settings and costumes, the variety of poses and physiognomies of the figures, and their easy movement in space. Yet there are medieval features that cannot be ignored, especially the high background walls and almost tapestry-like distribution of forms across the surface of the compositions; these align the work more with works of a later period (such as the famous manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 510, of the late 9th century) than with pre-Iconoclastic works such as the 6th century Vienna Genesis, which have been cited as parallels. The most recent suggestion, made by Guglielmo Cavallo, is that the manuscript was produced in a Greek monastery in Rome in the late 8th century. If so, it did not apparently stay there long: it must have been brought to Constantinople by the 10th century, been taken back to Italy in the 11th century (if this is indeed when and where the miniatures of the last part of the volume were added), and then have been brought East again to Patmos by the year 1200. This is a great deal of travelling back and forth to propose for a manuscript, even one as magnificent as this, and an Eastern origin for the manuscript and all its miniatures would certainly provide a far simpler solution. But if shifted to the East, then problems would arise with the proposed 8th century date, for this is the time of the Iconoclastic Controversy, when sacred books were not being illustrated. The miniatures could conceivably have been executed in a place somewhat removed from the capital, a place where the strictures of Iconoclasm were without effective force. Otherwise we would be compelled to push the date of the manuscript forward into the second half of the 9th century, after the end of Iconoclasm in 843.

Whatever its origin, the manuscript is clearly a luxury product, designed not for liturgical use (the Book of Job was rarely read in Church services) but for reference and private study. The large size, the care with which the volume was written, and the predominantly secular tone of the miniatures suggests its patron or recipient could even have been a layman of some standing, one to be continually reminded by the images it contained of both the delights and the transitoriness of his wealth.

Stella Papadaki-Oekland has proposed that this very manuscript, the Patmos Job, served as the model for another illustrated Job, the one now housed in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos (codex 590). The Vatopedi Job is in fact such a faithful copy that we can use it to reconstruct lost sections of text in the Patmos volume, as well as to envisage what the dozen or so illuminations cut out or missing from it must have looked like. If the Vatopedi manuscript was painted in the 12th-13th century, as seems likely, and if the work was carried out on Patmos itself as proposed by Papadaki-Oekland, these awkward and unskilled Vatopedi miniatures are representative of 13th century Patmian manuscript painting. We must then sadly concede that in no way can it rival the fine creations of the fresco painters at work on the island at about this same time.

THE HOMILIES OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (Codex 33)

The earliest dated illuminated manuscript in the Library of Patmos is a volume of the works of Gregory of Nazianzus (figs. 5-8). This remarkable codex, the oldest dated Southern Italian manuscript in existence, was written, so its colophon states, in Reggio di Calabria, in the year 941, by the monk Nicholas and his son Daniel.

The volume contains the complete homilies of Gregory, plus a number of other texts, including funerary epigrams he composed on his friend St. Basil the Great, as well as the

Vita of Gregory by Gregory the Presbyter and commentaries on the Homilies by Pseudo-Nonnus. Preceding the text are four frontispiece folios (fols. 1-4), each adorned on both sides with a full-page miniature. Ornamental frames in the form of crosses, circles, rectangles, or multilobed in shape, enclose verses, most by or about Gregory, written in red uncials on the plain parchment. The frontispiece miniatures, which are not now in their proper order, were originally arranged so that frames of similar shape faced each other when the book rested open.

The ornament of the rest of the volume is essentially restricted to headpieces the width of a single column of text at the beginning of each new Homily, and large opening initials with brightly coloured fish or blessing hands. Over the headpieces, which are mostly variations on the guilloche, perch birds, especially ducks, in pairs or in little groups on nests; there are also lions, antelopes and leopards. Toward the very end of the manuscript, where the texts are very short, the pages are enlivened by many figured initials, especially human heads, and bodies contorted to form specific letters.

The frontispiece pages are spectacular in their decorative effect. The opening miniature (fol. 1^{r}, fig. 5), the only one without any writing, consists of a circle of eight large-scale multi-coloured knots which are extended to divide an outer circle into eight sections. They even break through the outer circle at the top and bottom of the composition to create a vertical axis. The knot at the top turns into a sort of vase containing sprigs of greenery with flowering tips, and this 'vase' is flanked by two large cocks with flourishing tail feathers; that at the bottom is flanked by two storks pecking at bits of greenery. The bold interlace design, and its juxtaposition with lively animal or bird forms is reminiscent of Italian mosaic pavement designs (cf. S. Maria Capua Vetere).

The circular form is repeated in another frontispiece miniature (fol. 1^{v}, fig. 6), but here the frame is less complex, consisting of a simple uninterrupted guilloche. The text it encloses explains the palaeographic signs which will be used in the margins of the Homily texts to follow. Perched on the circle are two large eagles, their heads turned away from each other and live prey in their beaks. Their wings overlap in the middle, and repeat, along with the antlers of the two deer browsing below the circle, the vertical axis found in the opening miniature. Little trees grow from the upper part of the circle and the two larger trees behind the deer are each crowned with an oversized heart-shaped leaf.

On two of the prefatory pages the text is framed by a cross filled with guilloche. On fol. 2^{r} (fig. 7) two large peacocks perch on two trees placed diagonally in the upper angles of the cross; their bodies and tails are segmented and painted with bright abstract patterns. Flanking the cross in the lower margins are two more trees, each faced by a pair of geese; two ducks nestle at the crown of the trees. The text itself is an anonymous iambic verse on the Cross and on heretics.

The first page of the actual Homilies (fol. 5^{r}, fig. 8) contains the title to the volume inscribed inside an oblong frame. The words are written in gold, which is now used regularly throughout the rest of the manuscript (on the frontispiece pages, by contrast, gold was merely imitated by the use of dull ochre). Each line of the title is written against a different colour background, which gives the whole title a striped effect. Below, instead of the usual single oversize opening initial, the whole first word of the text, *ἥττημαι*, is written large, three tall ligatures occupying the whole lower half of the page. The letters clearly announce the tripartite division of the text to come. Each of these ligatures is filled with guilloches, and gold studs, and the stems of the letters are elaborated at the tips by animal heads biting their own necks. There are other dogs and rabbits on their hind legs chasing up and down the page.

The illustration of this volume has few parallels in Byzantine manuscript painting. The idea of a set of frontispiece pages is certainly not new to Byzantium – sets of canon tables, for example, precede many Gospelbooks, and Psalters in this period are often preceded by frontispiece miniatures. Yet, unlike their Byzantine counterparts these prefatory pages in the Patmos Gregory have no real function in the volume. Such emphasis on ornament for its own sake, as well as the special treatment of the very first word of the text, is reminiscent of older insular and Merovingian manuscripts; the amount of interlace used throughout this volume could also be attributed to Western influence, for, though not unknown in Byzantium, having been a common motif in Late Antique ornament, it was rarely employed on this scale. Yet the creatures in the Patmos codex, both the naturalistic cocks and the more stylised peacocks, point to different, more Eastern, sources, and it is primarily in Islamic art that we find comparable juxtapositions of animals and vegetation. The small headpieces have round or triangular appendages at the ends, which can be compared with the 'soura' attached to ornamental strips in manuscripts of the Koran.

The Arabs had conquered nearby Sicily nearly 100 years before this manuscript was produced, and Reggio is known to have had an Arab population already in the tenth century. The presence of Islamic elements, alongside Byzantine and Western ones, in a Greek Calabrian manuscript of this period, should not thus take us entirely by surprise.

The two men responsible for the codex, the monk Nicholas and his son Daniel, were probably more than mere hired hands: the fact that Nicholas himself was the author of a poem in honour of Gregory written inside a cross on the frontispiece on fol. 4^{v}, and their emphasis in the colophon on their 'conversion by the Trinity' suggests that these two may once have been laymen of some culture and means (in which case Daniel could even have been Nicholas' real son, not merely his 'spiritual' son) working together as scribes, artists and patrons all at once, to produce this highly unusual manuscript.

A GOSPEL LECTIONARY (Codex 70)

The Library of Patmos preserves among its treasures a substantial number of illustrated Gospel Lectionaries. A Gospel Lectionary is the most important liturgical book of the Byzantine church, the book from which the Gospel passages are read aloud to the congregation. Kept on the altar, the Lectionary is removed during the section of the liturgy called the Little Entrance, when it is carried in procession by the priest or deacon through the northern door of the sanctuary into the nave and then back through the Royal, or central, Doors of the iconostasis, and deposited once again on the altar.

In a Gospel Lectionary, the four Gospels are rearranged so as to conform to the sequence in which they will be read in the church over the course of the year; the texts are excerpted, and only the passages that will actually be read are included. A Lectionary of this kind begins with the passage from the opening of the Gospel of St. John read on Easter Sunday (John 1,1-18), and continues with the passages read at all the subsequent movable feasts in the order John, Matthew, Luke and Mark; then come the passages read on the fixed feasts of the calendar starting at the beginning of the liturgical year, September 1.

The earliest of the illustrated Gospel Lectionaries in the monastery Library is Patmos 70, a manuscript usually dated to the beginning of the 10th century (figs. 9-14). Its decoration consists of ornamental headpieces, a large number of painted initials, and seven miniatures. The latter are located below the columns of text, on the lower margins of the page; since the

codex itself has been cropped at both top and bottom, the lower part of each of these miniatures has been cut away.

The miniatures accompany readings from John for the Fifth Sunday after Easter (the Healing of the Blind, fol. 40^{v}), from Mark for Holy Thursday (the Prayer at Gethsemane, fol. 170^{r}; Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus, fol. 171^{v}; the Denial of Peter before the servant woman, fol. 173^{v}, and the Washing of the Feet, fol. 174^{v}, fig. 9), and for Good Friday (the Council of the Archpriests and the Elders, fol. 213^{r}, and the Suicide of Judas, fol. 213^{v}). The fact that large sections of two nearby pages have been cut out (fols. 215^{r}, 216^{v}) suggests that there were originally two more miniatures accompanying the Good Friday readings: these probably depicted Christ before Pilate and the Crucifixion. The emphasis on Holy Week readings to the exclusion of almost all others is interesting, and not easy to explain.

The scenes are rendered in a highly abbreviated way, devoid of background or frame. A single figure, the kneeling Christ, for instance, evokes the prayer of Gethsemane, which is usually rendered in several episodes and includes the figures of the disciples. The episode of Peter cutting the ear of the Archpriest's servant Malchus appears here as an independent scene, although it is traditionally incorporated into the scene of the Betrayal. Christ washing the feet of Peter (fig. 9) stands for the more usual developed version which includes all the disciples. Here each scene is reduced to the simple interaction of two figures or groups of figures, each unit corresponding to a single column of text.

The figures have sharply outlined heads with long craning necks and tuft-like hair. Their faces, arms and legs are modelled not by the building up of layers of colour, but by the simple juxtaposition of red and green. In their facial types and in their elementary modelling, these figures show an affinity to those found in Cappadocian frescoes datable to the 9th or 10th centuries, as well as to those on some early icons preserved at the monastery at Mt. Sinai. The drapery, on the other hand, which is treated more softly and with more blending of colours, is reminiscent of the so-called 'marginal' Psalters, Constantinopolitan works of the 9th century – although in the Patmos miniatures the painterly effect is somewhat counteracted by the use of thick black lines for the contours and the shadows, as well as by the linear treatment of the white highlights.

The numerous painted initials play a primary role in the colourful and lively appearance of this manuscript as a whole (figs. 10-14). They comprise a variety of floral forms, stylised blessing hands of all shapes and sizes, fish, birds, snakes, and beasts, wittily presented, with a sure eye for decorative effect. They are executed in bright contrasting colours, especially red and blue, but also in green and yellow; no gold at all is used anywhere in this manuscript. There is only one figural initial, the letter 'T' that begins the reading for Lazarus Saturday; it has as its base the figure of Lazarus in a winding sheet (fol. 137^{r}, fig.10). The headpieces are decorated with guilloches, palmettes, birds and floral motifs enclosed within roundels or square frames. Even the words of the titles to the readings are treated decoratively and painted in a variety of colours.

The miniatures often overlap letters of the text, which suggests they may have been added at a later time. Yet the palette of miniatures and initials is the same, and the simplified approach in the miniatures themselves to both the figural compositions and the colour combinations harmonises so successfully with the aesthetic of the initials and of the page as a whole, that it is hard to imagine that much time, if any, could have elapsed between the two campaigns.

No consensus of opinion has been reached regarding the origins of this manuscript. The

particular character of its illuminated initials, and their sheer numbers, have suggested an attribution to Southern Italy, although the manuscript as a whole bears little resemblance to Patmos 33, the Gregory manuscript described above (a surely documented South Italian codex), and it lacks certain codicological features peculiar to manuscripts made in that area. The types of initials are in fact fairly widely diffused throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Peculiarities in the choice of saints in its Synaxarion are paralleled in another 10th century manuscript with Cypriot connections at a later date. An Eastern origin, then, may still be the most plausible hypothesis. It is even conceivable that this Lectionary was done in Jerusalem: it contains the Twelve Passion Gospels, a set of readings for Holy Thursday which originated in Jerusalem and only later made its way to Constantinople; furthermore the events of Holy Week, given special emphasis in the miniatures in this manuscript, had been celebrated in Jerusalem from the 4th century on with a sequence of special ceremonies quite unmatched anywhere else, including Constantinople, until considerably later.

THE FOUR GOSPELS (Codex 72)

Patmos 72 (figs. 15-16), another 10th century manuscript, is a regular Gospel book, in that it has the full text of the four Gospels arranged in the usual order: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. But notes written in the upper margins of the text indicate at precisely what liturgical feast the passage on the page below was to be read, and show that this Gospel was designed from the beginning to serve as a Lectionary as well.

The book is decorated with four full-page miniatures of the Evangelists, each page acting as a frontispiece to the corresponding Gospel. A simple grey-blue border surrounds each of the miniatures and gives it the appearance of a framed portrait.

In the first of these, the elderly Evangelist Matthew is seated on a stool before a desk and a lectern (fol. 10^{v}, fig. 15). With his right hand resting on his knee and his left hand raised to his chin in thought, he repeats a time-honoured image of an author, one ultimately derived from ancient depictions of seated philosophers. The codex lying open on the tall lectern and the writing implements on Matthew's desk emphasise the actual writing process involved in the transmission of his Gospel.

The antique origins of the figure are evident not only in the iconographic type but in the figure style as well. The classical garments, painted in light tonalities, cling to the body so as to enhance its sculptural quality. White highlights, one of the standard illusionistic devices of antique painting, are used in this Middle Byzantine miniature with a full understanding of their purpose. The facial modelling is based on an ample and free use of red and green.

The miniature of Mark follows a slightly different iconographic type, albeit one just as firmly based on antique tradition (fol. 94^{v}, fig. 16). Mark, a younger man than Matthew, also rests his right hand on his knee, but rests the other on the edge of the lectern supporting the open codex. His desk is made of marble and is adorned with a very classical acanthus moulding. His short-sleeved chiton of light blue, and his light purple himation, are both extensively highlighted in white, as was the case with the figure of Matthew.

In all the miniatures of Patmos 72, a great importance is given to the architectural setting: a high wall flanked by tall narrow buildings behind Matthew, an exedra and two round towers behind Mark, and tall multi-storied buildings receding diagonally into space behind Luke. These settings associate this manuscript with a specific group of mid-tenth century works of which the most famous is a Gospel book on Mount Athos, Stavronikita 43. In the

Patmos manuscript, however, the sense of space created by the architectural elements is counteracted by the lavish use of gold: not only does gold adorn the furniture, but it entirely replaces the atmospheric background found in the Stavronikita miniatures. The gold, in fact, removes the composition from the very reality the architecture was introduced to convey.

Such a coexistence of two modes is characteristic of works of the latter half of the 10th century, to which period Patmos 72 must belong. Another feature typical of this period is the contrast between the large-scale, sumptuous frontispiece Evangelist portraits and the more purely calligraphic forms of text decoration found elsewhere in the volume. The latter displays a narrow range of traditional abstract motifs, such as rosettes, cruciform designs within circular or rectangular frames, palmettes, and guilloche, all probably executed by the scribe himself, in dull red, green, and yellow-ochre, without a trace of gold.

Only somewhat later, in the 11th century, do these contrasting pictorial traditions begin to be reconciled within the covers of a single volume.

THE HOMILIES OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (Codex 45)

Few manuscripts containing the complete works of Gregory of Nazianzus were produced after the 10th century. Instead, sixteen of the most commonly read Homilies were chosen and assembled into a 'liturgical' edition designed especially for use in Church services. A particularly fine early example of this type of edition is Patmos 45, which can be assigned to the middle of the 11th century (fig. 19).

Each Homily in this manuscript is preceded by an exquisite illuminated pylon; rinceaux enclosing palmettes unroll in a rich variety of patterns, executed with such perfect workmanship that not once has the gold or the bright colours smeared or flaked. The opening letters of each Homily are also illuminated with great delicacy.

The very first Homily is preceded by a miniature which thus serves as a frontispiece for the whole codex (fig. 19). It is a full-page, framed representation of the Anastasis, or The Descent into Hell, designed to accompany Gregory's Homily on Easter which opens the volume.

The composition, the standard Easter image of the Orthodox Church, is more commonly found in monumental painting than in manuscripts, especially in churches with a Dodekaorton cycle, the illustrated cycle of the twelve Great liturgical Feasts of the church year. The Anastasis image derives not from the Bible, which says virtually nothing about Christ's descent into Hell, but from a variety of early literary and visual sources, including apocryphal texts and liturgical hymns. The composition in this Patmos Gregory manuscript is a fairly standard version of the Anastasis. It is dominated by the central figure of Christ, who occupies the interval between two high bare mountain peaks and commands the attention of various figures to His left and right. Clad in a gold tunic under a light olive mantle, and carrying a long double or 'patriarchal' cross, he is shown breaking down the doors of Hell to release Adam and Eve and various other figures who lived before His time but foretold His coming. Christ grasps the elderly Adam by the hand to raise him out of his sarcophagus. Eve stands nearby, clad in a light red maphorion and a light blue scarf, the latter being an unusual detail; behind her is the figure of John the Baptist, and opposite, standing in a second sarcophagus, are the Old Testament Kings David and Solomon. Behind these identifiable figures are the heads of the anonymous 'righteous', who also await their redemption. Inside a dark cave below the feet of Christ are visible the golden doors and broken locks and keys of Hell.

The dimensions of the space at his disposal may have prompted the artist to create a somewhat more vertically oriented composition than is usual for this scene. The figure of Christ is almost frozen; He appears to be striding to the right, pulling Adam behind Him, but the whole upper part of His body faces forward, and He confronts the viewer directly with His gaze. The symmetry emphasised in the composition is enhanced by the repeated gestures and choice of colours for the garments, especially the light red, which echo across from one group of figures to the other. Similarly, the marble of each sarcophagus lid matches not that of the sarcophagus next to it, but the one on the opposite side. The diagonals of the doors of Hell and the sarcophagus lids converge directly beneath Christ's feet. Devices such as these serve to focus the composition on the central figure of Christ. In this respect this miniature is reminiscent of the mosaic version of the Anastasis located in the narthex of the Katholikon of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis; there too an essentially narrative composition has been transformed into a powerful hieratic image.

The painting, though flaked in places, is of very high quality. The careful grading and harmonising of the colours of the garments, the large haloes and dark flesh tones, the 'classical' touches such as the rosette on one of the sarcophagi and the extremely delicate graining of the marble are all features that connect this miniature with works from the 'Macedonian Renaissance', especially imperial works of the late 10th and early 11nth centuries, such as the famous 'Menologion' of Basil II now in the Vatican Library.

The Patmos manuscript has an interesting history: though produced probably around the middle of the 11th century, it bears at the very beginning of the volume a dedicatory inscription naming a well-known individual of the 12th. The inscription is written in the form of a cross on the recto of the folio containing the Anastasis miniature (fol. γ^{r}). It is an appeal to Christ, 'who rose in three days from the dead', to aid His servant the Sebastokrator Isaac Comnenos, who is donating the manuscript to the Lavra of St. Sabbas (in Palestine). The inscription then asks the reader of the volume to pray for the Sebastokrator and for his wife and children.

There are two Comnenian princes named Isaac who were given the very high title Sebastokrator by the emperor Alexios I (1081-1118). One was his brother Isaac, a military man, the other his son Isaac (born in 1093), the brother of Alexios' successor, the emperor John II, and of the historian Anna Comnena.

Of the two Isaacs, the latter is the more likely choice here. A great patron of the arts in Constantinople in his youth during the early years of the 12th century, this younger Isaac was responsible for restoring the famous church of Christ the Saviour in the Monastery of Chora (the Kariye Camii), and even made plans to be buried there. (His final resting place was actually the Monastery of the Kosmosoteira which he founded in 1152 at Bera, today Pherrai, near Alexandroupolis, in Thrace; the grandiose church itself still survives). He is thought to have been interested in manuscripts as well, as he is presumably the man who commissioned in this same period the lavishly illuminated manuscript known as the Octateuch of the Seraglio. But Isaac, whose aspirations were by no means limited to cultural matters, fell out with his brother John and had to go into exile in 1122; he then spent the next fourteen years wandering throughout the Near East. It is recorded that at one point during this period of exile Isaac gave money for the building of an aqueduct for the monastery of the Prodromos on the Jordan River. Perhaps it was around this same time that he donated the volume of the Homilies of Gregory to the Lavra of St. Sabbas, and celebrated his donation by having his name inscribed in the book.

The manuscript did not stay at St. Sabbas indefinitely: a small Latin note of the 17th (?)

century at the top of fol.1^{r} says *Theologus de santi apostoli*, which indicates that the volume must have belonged to some church or monastery of the Holy Apostles before it entered the Patmos Library. Perhaps it was there that the names of Isaac and of the monastery of St. Sabbas were carefully erased (they can be read today only under ultraviolet light) – either so that someone else could earn credit for donating it anew, or to hide the fact that it properly belonged elsewhere, to the monastery of St. Sabbas.

A GOSPEL LECTIONARY (Codex 79)

The Gospel Lectionary Patmos 79 must have been executed only marginally later than the Gregory manuscript Patmos 45, that is, in the second half of the 11th century (figs. 17-18). It preserves full-page images of all four Evangelists; illuminated pylons consisting of vine scrolls and palmettes on a gold ground introduce the four main sections of the text, and a strip of similar design precedes the title for each month in the Synaxarion, the section at the end of the manuscript stating which Gospel passages were to be read on which fixed feastdays. A number of charming figured initials are scattered throughout the first four quires; the content of these initials are consistently related to the Gospel passages they introduce.

The Evangelist types hark back to 10th century models such as those in Athos Stavronikita 43 and Patmos 72, as do the oversize footstools and the bulky character of the figures themselves. The Evangelist Luke (fol. 105^{v}, fig. 18) wears a short-sleeved chiton – an archaic feature in this period. The garments are modelled with relatively discreet white highlights, and all sharp contrasts of light and dark are avoided.

Yet the Macedonian models have been brought up to date. The Evangelists are no longer the erect, distant figures of Patmos 72: they now bend forward eagerly to accomplish their appointed task. Though the furniture remains fairly simple, many more tools of the writer's trade (inkwell, inkpot, compass, pumice stones, knives for sharpening the pens or scraping the parchment, extra scrolls and books) are now displayed on and inside the desks; these Evangelists have thus become paradigms, not only for divinely inspired authors, but for master calligraphers as well.

Furthermore, the ideals of the 10th century have begun to yield to a new aesthetic. The almost imperceptible frames, actually thin lines of ink, contrast with the wide borders of Patmos 72 which gave the 10th century Evangelists the aspect of framed portraits. Here the figures seem to loom right out of the parchment itself. The architectural setting of the earlier miniatures has been eliminated entirely, allowing a vast area of gold ground to play the dominant role in the composition. The garments no longer have the diaphanous quality of the garments in the Anastasis miniature (fig. 19); the internal logic of the falling folds has now emerged as a pattern of lines on the surface of the cloth. Below the figures is a rolling strip of green ground, alive with red flowers; yet, as though to counteract its naturalistic appearance, this ground line is made to stop in an unnatural fashion exactly along the line of Matthew's bench. The open book on the lectern no longer looks as though it were resting on the wood: it merely replaces the wood with a white surface. Antique illusionistic techniques are abandoned, and figure and ground begin to merge.

As the figures become more and more abstract, their striking colour harmonies and expressive linear design serve at once to increase their emotional intensity and to coordinate them with the illuminations in other sections of the volume. Both figures and ornament now

act against a common background of gold and share the same range of colours and the precision of linear design. All the various elements of the book – text, miniatures, initials and ornament – have been executed in close harmony, one with the other, and together make this book a masterpiece of Byzantine manuscript production.

THE FOUR GOSPELS (Codex 274)

Patmos 274, though a Gospel book, is different from the Gospels and Lectionaries 72 and 79 in that it is a tiny volume, barely one third their size (14.8 x 11 cm.), written on thin parchment with tiny letters (figs. 20-24). Three of the four Gospels are here preceded by a full-page frontispiece miniature, the one before the Gospel of John having been cut out along with the first folio of the John text.

These frontispieces contain two registers within a single frame, and comprise in each case both a traditional Evangelist portrait plus a feast scene. Above the portrait of Matthew is the scene of the Nativity of Christ, above Mark the Baptism, and above Luke the Birth of John the Baptist. Although both registers have gold backgrounds, no particular effort was made to assimilate the scale or the composition of one register to that of the other: the multi-figured feast composition, with its detailed landscape or architectural setting, is always on top, and the solitary Evangelist seated at his desk in a minimal architectural setting is underneath, so that these frontispieces have all a somewhat topheavy appearance.

The choice of feast in each case was dictated by liturgical practice: the Gospel chapters facing each Evangelist were read during the celebrations for the specific feast-day illustrated in the miniature. While the association of each Evangelist with a particular Church feast can be traced in manuscript illumination as far back as the 10th century, the two images are more usually separated, with the Evangelist occupying a whole page, and the scene the headpiece on the opposite folio.

The combining of Evangelist portrait and feast scene on a single folio does, however, occur in a well-known Comnenian manuscript, the Codex Ebnerianus, a New Testament in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Cod. Auct. T. infra I.10) which itself belongs to a specific group of manuscripts closely related to each other in iconography, style and technique. Since one manuscript of the group, a Gospel Lectionary in the Vatican Library (Urb. gr. 2), can be fairly securely dated to the 1120s, and two other spectacular manuscripts illustrating the Homilies of the Virgin by a certain James Kokkinobaphos (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 1208, and Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, gr. 1162) are thought to belong to the 1130s and 1140's, respectively, the group of at least a dozen manuscripts in all has been generally assigned to Constantinople and to the first half of the 12th century. One of these related manuscripts (the Octateuch of the Seraglio) was in fact commissioned by the same Isaac Comnenos who gave Patmos 45 to the Lavra of St. Sabbas near Jerusalem.

The workshop that produced this group painted very recognisable figure types. The nervous Evangelists, hunched over their work, their intense faces in near profile and their exaggerated foreheads, can be found in a good half dozen manuscripts of the group, while many other elements – especially the furniture – are virtually interchangeable from one manuscript to the other. The workshop must have been at once solidly established and highly controlled to have achieved such consistency.

The feast scenes in the Patmos manuscript, though fairly traditional, offer some charming genre details, such as, in the Nativity (fig. 20), the pair of sheep drinking from a stream at

quite some distance from their shepherds, the astonished pose of the young shepherd, and the arms of the Christ Child crossed on His chest inside His swaddling clothes. In the scene of the Birth of John the Baptist, a 'modern' iconographic detail is the empty crib awaiting the infant after his bath.

The pair of sheep is found already in the mosaic representation of the Nativity at Daphni (c. 1100), and the style of these Patmos miniatures is in fact a developed version of that first observed at Daphni. The figures are graceful and appealing and their animated gestures enliven the stiff hieratic poses favoured in the 11th century. The pictorial elements are arranged in subtle flowing rhythms, which avoid the use of symmetrical devices. Emphasis is placed on the decorative quality of the miniatures: a greater range of colours is now employed, and these are more vivid and luminous than before, particularly the vermillion reds and the light shimmering blues. The furnishings and architectural elements are piled high behind the figures without adding any depth to the composition.

The sumptuous appearance of this little Patmos codex owes much to its non-figural decoration: the substantial square headpieces and opening initials (figs. 20-22). The headpiece designs exhibit a remarkable variety and technical mastery, attesting to the particular value placed on ornament in 12th century manuscript painting.

The small size of this manuscript suggests it may have been intended for private use, although there do exist other Byzantine manuscripts of even smaller dimensions that are more surely designed for that purpose. There is not much evidence as to its purpose to be found in the manuscript itself, unless the lack of auxiliary material, such as canon tables, certain prefatory texts, or a Synaxarion, and the lack of musical notation, is any indication that it was destined for private study rather than for liturgical use. On the very last page is inscribed a short prayer asking God to bring healing sleep to His servant, just as He once brought sleep to Abimelech and to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. This little prayer, though inserted by a later hand, reinforces our impression that Patmos 274 was used at home or in a monk's cell – in some place, anyway, where a bed was close at hand.

A LITURGICAL ROLL (No. 707)

The Library on Patmos contains a large number of liturgical rolls, including one, Patmos 707, which is one of the most important illustrated examples in existence (figs. 25-34). These rolls, narrow pieces of parchment pasted together to form a continuous strip sometimes up to nine meters long, are designed for the use of the officiating bishop or priest; they contain his 'script', the 'secret' prayers he is to recite in a low voice in the sanctuary throughout the course of the service. A roll of this type was held either by the celebrant himself or by a subdeacon, who held it up and slowly unrolled it, thus keeping the proper prayer visible to the bishop or priest at all times.

Figures of bishops adorning the apses of innumerable Byzantine churches are shown carrying scrolls just such as these as they bend towards the apse to perform the liturgy at the altar. The words we see inscribed on their scrolls in these frescoes are in fact the actual opening words of the 'secret' prayers of the liturgy. Images of these celebrant bishops first appear in art of the later 11th century, the very period when the first surviving illustrated roll was produced. This coincidence suggests that liturgical rolls may have first come into general use at just about this time. The Patmos roll contains, as do most extant liturgical rolls, the prayers for the Liturgy of Saint Basil, and for the Liturgy of the Presanctified – not

those for the now more commonly recited Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostomos. From the beginning of the 11th century on, the Liturgy of Saint Basil was used only at certain times of the year: on Sundays during Lent, on Thursday and Saturday of Holy Week, on Christmas Eve and the eve of Epiphany, and on Saint Basil's day, the first of January.

The text of the prayers is written on both front and back of the Patmos roll in large clear letters. The roll is adorned with an elaborate headpiece and a sequence of illuminated initials, each initial marking the beginning of a new prayer. The headpiece (fig. 25) depicts Saint Basil performing the liturgy: he stands behind an altar holding a blank liturgical roll before him with both hands. On the altar rest a chalice filled with wine and a paten covered with the asteriskos. Two young deacons stand alongside holding gold liturgical fans.

The ceremony takes place under arches supported by variegated marble columns (the outer ones doubled and knotted), which suggest the entrance to a sanctuary. The arches support in their turn a large wall of mottled green marble, in the centre of which is a roundel of purple marble located directly over the head of Basil. Above this wall rises what seems to be a kind of architectural fantasy: five blue-tiled domes, each crowned with a gold cross and having a red drum complete with rows of windows; a lunette under the main dome containing the bust of the Virgin orans, and separate smaller lunettes to the left and right which contain the busts of two adoring angels, now barely visible since they are silhouetted in gold against the gold ground. Below this section, which could be read as a church with a bust of the Virgin in its apse or over its doorway, is another rather vague architectural unit, a sort of entrance portico with a transverse pitched roof supported on three arches. Below this comes a rippling roof-line and a sequence of five small lunettes filled with gold ornament; these lunettes probably derive from canon table design.

Though this exotic pile of architectural forms is certainly suggestive of a church, the irrational juxtaposition of the structural elements and their unnatural colours produces a purely decorative effect. In this respect Patmos 707 follows a fashion known from other 12th century illustrated manuscripts surely produced in Constantinople, especially some of the manuscripts made in the workshop which produced Patmos 274 (specifically the copies of the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos), a manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory (Sinait gr. 339) and a liturgical roll in the National Library in Athens (no. 2759). A comparable interest in architectural fantasies can be found in 12th-century monumental painting, a prime example being the church of the Virgin near Lagoudera on Cyprus (1192). The superimposition of flat architectural panels, the rich textural and colouristic effects which dissolve the solidity of their surfaces, the way in which the forms are held together not by any structural logic but by a calculated balancing of the decorative elements – all these features recur also in Islamic illuminations of the same period, and endow this Byzantine painted architecture with a decidedly Oriental flavour.

Despite its irrationality, this type of decoration does provide an appropriate visual introduction to a liturgical roll. When we imagine the roll being gradually opened to view from the top down, we discover a definite sense of progression from the multi-domed exterior to the interior of a sanctuary where the author of the liturgy has himself begun to celebrate the service.

The 'church' headpiece in the Patmos roll rests upon a large square of carpet ornament of typical 12th century design. The decoration of this scroll is complemented by a large number of historiated initials, as is the case with further liturgical rolls and other types of manuscripts from the second half of the 11th century on.

The first initial below, coming at the opening of the Prothesis prayer, contains the bust of

Christ Emmanuel inside a circular letter 'O'. Further down, the figures of Peter and Paul each hold scrolls out before them to form 'K's for the First and Second Antiphon prayers, the Archangel Michael forms an 'O' for the Third Antiphon prayer; a 'Δ' to initiate the Little Entrance Prayer is created by two figures: John Chrysostom standing before a shrine and the Archangel Gabriel. The Christ Pantokrator occupies the 'O' of the Trisagion prayer. After these first six, the initials no longer contain Biblical figures. Except for a 'K' tormed by the figure of a deacon, the remaining initials consist of a variety of animals, snakes, and birds, plus a falconer. Although these latter initials have no relation to the sacred content of the text, they do all serve admirably to guide the celebrant to the proper prayer.

The Patmos roll is usually dated to the beginning of the 13th century, its headpiece being a simplified version of the one in the 12th century roll in Athens, and its figures being more soberly rendered, with less emphasis on linear design. A dating to the early 13th century gains additional support from the diverse character of the illustrated initials, in contrast to the homogeneous approach to this type of decoration that we find in 11th and 12th century liturgical rolls.

THE FOUR GOSPELS (Codex 80)

Patmos 80 contains the Four Gospels plus extensive commentaries on them written in tiny letters around the words of the text, on the margins of each page (figs. 35-38). The fact that the passages to be read on certain feast-days are indicated on the margins suggests that this Gospel book, like Patmos 70, was designed to serve as a Lectionary. At the end of the last page (which contains a final bit of commentary written in an hourglass shape), a prayer in the hand of the scribe evokes the aid of God for 'the person who began the book, for the one who completed it, and for the one who paid for it'. The script does change abruptly about halfway through the volume, which confirms the evidence offered by this prayer that the book was executed by two different scribes.

The book is decorated with portraits of the Evangelists, and opposite are ornamental headpieces which introduce each Gospel. Although Byzantine Evangelist portraits were often painted on unruled folios which were then inserted into the sequence of quires when the book was bound, here the figures have been painted on pages already prepared for writing, and so cannot have been executed very far from the original scriptorium. The rulings have even been used by the painter to guide him in his work, which explains why his portraits are located a bit off-center on the page, as well as why his composition is so dominated by horizontal lines.

The Evangelist portraits of Patmos 80 are outstanding examples of a transitional phase in the history of Byzantine painting, that coming between the late Comnenian mannerist style (of which there is no example in the Patmos Library) and the so-called monumental style of the early 13th century. The architectural background, which stacks forms without creating a feeling of depth, is typical of the 12th century. The tower-like structure at the right in the miniature of Mark (fig. 35), for example, is pierced by an arch almost as tall as the building itself, and a piece of red drapery wrapped around its antefix adds to its unrealistic appearance. In the portrait of Luke (fig. 36), an altar draped in red under a white baldacchino floats on the terrace above a thin arcade. The fact that the openings in the buildings lead only to more gold ground further enhances the abstract character of the architectural background.

The iconographic types of the Evangelists still follow ancient models – even the wicker chair of John (fig. 38), which seems such a realistic detail, harks back to Late Antique portraiture. Luke's features – his gaunt face and tight, carefully delineated curls of hair – are still dependent on Comnenian tradition, as are the exaggerated undulations of the himatia of Mark (fig. 35) and Matthew (fig. 37), encountered in an extreme version in the frescoes of the church at Kurbinovo of 1191.

Yet the excessive emphasis on line which dissolved the solidity of the human figure in this period, and made masks of the faces, has been abandoned; Matthew, Mark and John already show the broad faces, strong necks and robust build characteristic of figures in the more progressive works of the early 13th century, such as the wall paintings of the church of the Virgin at Studenića (1208/9) and a number of icons at Sinai. All these works show a reaction to the impasse which Byzantine painting experienced in the Late Comnenian period and indicate a new start for the stylistic developments in the 13th century.

THE FOUR GOSPELS (Codex 82)

A medieval manuscript often had a succession of owners. These individuals, even if they remain anonymous, do sometimes leave traces of themselves in the manuscript that passed through their hands by writing in its margins or by adding new decoration to the volume.

This is the case with Patmos 82, a rather small volume of the Gospels written originally in the 10th century and adorned at that time with gilded canon tables and delicately executed headpieces and initials. Then much later, sometime in the early 14th century, the book was embellished further by the insertion of new folios containing an entirely new set of Evangelist portraits (figs. 39-40).

Each of these Evangelists sits under an arch supported on columns, a somewhat rare choice of setting for Evangelist portraits of the Middle and Late Byzantine period. The arches themselves are filled with simple floral designs, so that their structural function is minimised.

Into these otherwise conventional images, the latest iconographic fashions of the early Paleologan period have been almost imperceptively introduced. Mark, for example, is shown erasing a bit of text with his left hand using a parchment scraper; his pen itself is stuck behind his ear. One of his sandals is untied (fig. 39). These unusual details, which have no source in earlier Evangelist portraits, appear again in a fresco portrait of Luke found in the Protaton on Mount Athos executed in the late 13th century, as well as in a fair number of other contemporary works, in both fresco and miniature painting. The portrait of John (fig. 40) also has a relatively novel feature, the high circular throne first introduced into Byzantine painting during the second half of the 13th century.

The rather fluid, narrow-shouldered figures, painted in glowing, marine-like colours against the gold ground, are characteristic for the period around 1300, as is the general impatience with the architectural setting, which is executed rather hastily and sketchily. The rendering of the folds by the juxtaposition of contrasting colours (e.g., purple with light blue highlights, or olive with light blue) rather than with white highlights or a lighter tone of the colour of the garments, is something encountered in both monumental and icon painting of the early Paleologan period. The meticulous modelling of the faces may find parallels among the frescoes of the Pammakaristos church (Fetiye Camii) in Constantinople, but it is with

contemporary icon painting that these miniatures can be most closely associated. The very fact that they were produced as four separate 'panels', and then inserted into an older codex, only increases their icon-like character.

THE FOUR GOSPELS (Codex 81)

The codex Patmos 81 is rightly considered to be one of the masterpieces of Late Byzantine book illumination (figs. 1, 41-45). The fact that it is also precisely dated (1334/5) enhances its importance for any study of 14th century Byzantine painting.

This small copy of the Gospels contains the usual liturgical indications written in gold letters in the margins of the text. It preserves four full-page miniatures of the Evangelists, each placed to face a magnificent large ornamental headpiece and an illuminated opening initial. The entire first page of each Gospel is written in gold letters, and gold writing in the form of epigrams honouring each Evangelist now appears on the actual miniature pages as well. The aesthetic unity of text and image is virtually complete.

These miniatures treat the familiar theme of the framed portrait with a level of sophistication thoroughly in tune with the taste of this particular period. Matthew (fig. 42), for example, is writing the first words of his Gospel in Greek, while the book he copies, an open codex placed on the lectern before him, bears a script imitating Hebrew – a distinction made already in certain 10th century manuscripts. Mark's model, a half-opened scroll lying on his lap, again has pseudo-Hebrew characters on it. All the Evangelists, who pose somewhat stiffly for their portraits, are enveloped in ample silk himatia gleaming with sharp metallic highlights. The colours themselves, the slate-grey sheen of Matthew's robe and the royal blue of Mark's, are rare ones in Byzantine painting. The hair of the Evangelists is rendered in an extremely refined manner: the traces of grey, for example, follow the natural aging process, and the colours used for the highlights and shadows of their hair and beards deliberately repeat those chosen for the garments.

The background architecture is used with great skill, even wit. On the Matthew page (fig. 42), a plain wall, enlivened by a row of dentils, simply ends on three sides in a strip of gold ground. The structures behind the wall are porticos of non-existing buildings, placed at oblique angles to the wall so as to set up a series of diagonal accents without generating any real recession into space. The colours, especially the blues, are distributed in such a way as to set up a series of diagonal accents which is different, and even contrary to, the accents established by the forms themselves.

More extravagant, almost outrageous, in its mannerist implications, is the setting for the portrait of Mark (fig. 44). Inside a purely ornamental outer frame is a sort of pedimental arch on columns. One of its columns runs down to the foreground of the picture, while the other goes down to the rear – yet despite this discrepancy the pediment itself remains perfectly parallel to the picture plane. Its capitals are inexplicably slashed in half. The distinctive pediment in this miniature, with its projecting horn-like elements draped with red cloth, is so close to one found in the early 14th century mosaics of the Monastery of Chora (Kariye Camii) that it has even been suggested that the painter of this miniature was consciously referring to these very Constantinopolitan mosaics.

The substantial ornamental borders to the portraits, with their salmon-coloured ground, are quite unusual in this late period and must have been inspired by deluxe manuscripts of the 10th century. Yet the traditional function of such borders, to serve as window frames

through which we view the composition, is sometimes mocked, as when Mark's footstool or John's foot spills out of the composition and disrupts the integrity of the frame. Furthermore, the colours used for the border are precisely the same as those used to create the composition. All in all, these miniatures must have been executed by artists thoroughly aware of the traditions in which they were working, yet ready to play on the expectations of the viewer in highly original ways.

The portrait of Saint John (fig. 41) is quite different from the three others in this particular manuscript, as it is from all the previous portraits described so far. The tall elderly Evangelist is not seated at his desk this time, but stands before a high, bare, fissured mountainside. He is at once listening and speaking: he has turned his head to look up toward the hand of God, and at the same time he is addressing his young disciple Prochoros. Prochoros is seated on a bit of rock, taking down the opening words of the Fourth Gospel; behind him looms the mouth of a cave, and inside the cave is a writing desk with an inkwell on top.

The composition is based on information provided in the 5th century apocryphal Acts of Saint John the Evangelist (purportedly written by Prochoros himself), which relates the circumstances under which John composed the Fourth Gospel. According to Prochoros, this event took place on Patmos, where John had been exiled. He and John left town together one day, and went off to a quiet spot called Katastasis, where there was a small mountain. They stayed there three days, while John fasted and prayed. John then told Prochoros to return to town and bring him ink and sheets of paper; when Prochoros returned, he found John again standing and praying. Then, as lightning flashed and thunder sounded, and the mountain shook, John looked heavenward and began to dictate to Prochoros the words of the Fourth Gospel.

The essentials of this story, namely the standing figure of John, the mountainous landscape, and the seated scribe Prochoros, first appear in works of art in the early 11th century, probably, as Hugo Buchthal has shown, under the influence of the Life of Saint John written by Symeon Metaphrastes. Metaphrastes, who wrote in the 10th century, must certainly have known the apocryphal Prochoros text, for he incorporated elements from it into his own narrative. He introduces some new motifs as well. Among them is an analogy between John and Moses, who also went up on a mountain to receive the Word of God, and who also brought it down in written form to convey to his people; this analogy with Moses may have helped in providing artists with a handy model when the story came to be illustrated. At any rate, this more dramatic composition soon became a commonly used alternative to the traditional seated Evangelist portrait.

But what is unusual in this particular Patmos miniature is that there is a cave visible behind the figure of Prochoros: though John is said to have dictated his Gospel to Prochoros on a Patmian mountainside, none of the sources mention anything about a cave. It was another text that John is supposed to have written in a cave on Patmos, at least according to a later, interpolated version of the Prochoros story – namely, the Revelation.

What has apparently happened is that the two separate traditions involving John as author have been conflated into one image. Because of the presence of the cave of the Revelation in this Evangelist portrait, it is tempting to speculate that this manuscript, Patmos 81, was painted on or for the island of Patmos, and to see this bit of landscape as a reference to the actual cave, which was near the monastery and had been a pilgrimage site for quite some time. But the cave does appear in other contemporary works of art illustrating the same theme, which have no apparent connection with Patmos at all.

The reasons for the introduction of this iconographic detail are obscure. Nowhere does it appear before the early 14th century. It may reflect a new tradition whereby John is supposed to have dictated both his Gospel and the Book of Revelation inside the one Patmian cave. Or it may have little to do with Patmos, but be related rather to the growing acceptance of the Revelation as a canonical book in the East in this period. Always treated with a certain ambivalence, thought canonical by some Church Fathers and some early Church councils, but rejected by most others, texts of the Revelation were not illustrated in Byzantium, as they were in the West; it was never read in the liturgy, and was not often included in manuscripts of the New Testament. Only over the course of the 12th to 14th centuries did it gradually achieve semi-official sanction, with the famous poet and priest of St. Sophia, Nicholas Kallistos Xanthopoulos, for one, arguing for its being a canonical book of the New Testament at almost exactly the same time as our miniature was painted. The role of Patmos itself in promoting the validity of the Revelation in this period remains to be explored.

Whatever the original impetus may have been for the introduction of this bit of Patmian scenery into the conventional portrait of John the Evangelist, it is surely most appropriate that this splendid treasure of the Patmos Library should contain one of the earliest images in existence of Saint John at the cave of the Revelation.

1. Gospels (codex 81, fol. 153r). Headpiece for the Gospel of Luke. 1333/4.

2. The Book of Job (codex 171, p. 16). The sons and daughters of Job proceed to a banquet. 9th century.

3. The Book of Job (codex 171, p. 44). The house of Job's eldest son collapses on the heads of his children as they dine. 9th century.

4. The Book of Job (codex 171, pp. 52-53). Four young men emerge from a walled city and bear witness to the shame of Job, who sits on an ashheap mocked by his wife. 9th century. →

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου

52

Τῆς ὁσίας ἐκείνης ἐπισκοπίας ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνην ἀναδέξασθαι μὴ ἐθελήσαντος ἐκείνου μηδὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιφέρειν ἐθελήσαντος ἀλλ'

χρονογραφικοῦ προκοπίου

μθ΄ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τριάδι τι κτιστὸν ἢ δοῦλον ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄκτιστα καὶ ἐλεύθερα καὶ ὁμοούσια καὶ ὁμόθεα καὶ ὁμοδύναμα καὶ ὁμοβασίλεια καὶ ὁμοκράτορα καὶ ὁμοπάντα καὶ ὁμοποιητικὰ καὶ ὁμοπρόνοια καὶ ὁμοπρόνοια καὶ ὁμοπρόνοια

5. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (codex 33, fol. 1′). Seventh frontispiece page. 941.

6. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (codex 33, fol.1^{v}). Eighth frontispiece page. 941.

7. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (codex 33, fol. 2ʳ). Third frontispiece page. 941.

8

8. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (codex 33, fol. 5r). First page of the Homily text. 941.

9

9. Gospel Lectionary (codex 70, fol. 174^{v}). The Washing of the Feet. Early 10th century.

10-13. Gospel Lectionary (codex 70, fols. 137^{r}, 28^{v}, 53^{r}, 205^{v}). Initial letters T, A, E and T. Early 10th century.

10

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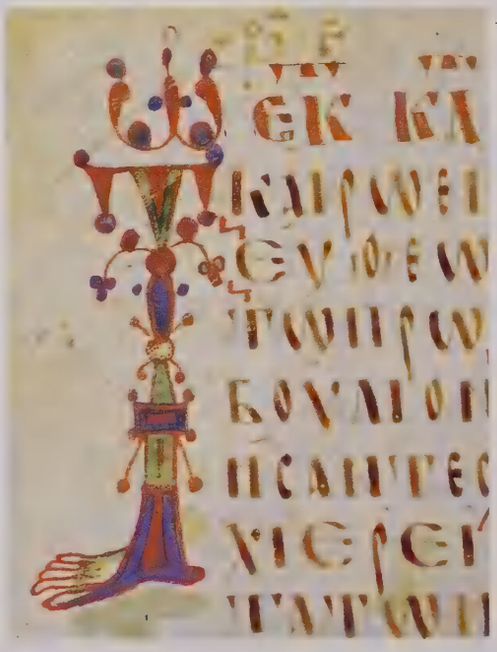
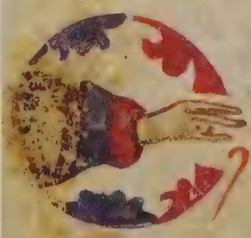
12



13

14. Gospel Lectionary (codex 70, fol. 16^{v}). Text page with initial letters K, E and T. Early 10th century.



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19. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (codex 45, fol. γ^{v}). The Anastasis. Middle of the 11th century.

15-16. Gospels (codex 72, fols. 10^{v}, 94^{v}). The Evangelists Matthew and Mark. Second half of the 10th century.

17-18. Gospel Lectionary (codex 79, fols. 72^{v}, 105^{v}). The Evangelists Matthew and Luke. Second half of the 11th century.

20. Gospels (codex 274, fols. 5^{v}–6^{r}). The Nativity and the Evangelist Matthew; headpiece for the Gospel of Matthew. First half of the 12th century.

21-22. Gospels (codex 274, fols. 93^{v}-94^{r}, 149^{v}-150^{r}). The Baptism and the Evangelist Mark, headpiece for the Gospel of Mark. – The Birth of John the Baptist and the Evangelist Luke; headpiece for the Gospel of Luke. First half of the 12th century.

21

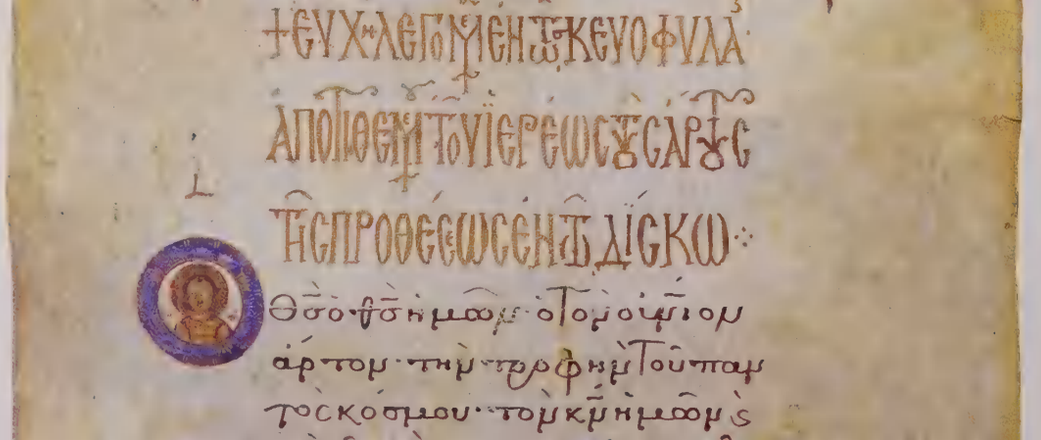
22

23. Gospels (codex 274, fol. 93^{v}). The Baptism and the Evangelist Mark. First half of the 12th century.

24

24. Gospels (codex 274, fol. 149^{v}). The Birth of John the Baptist and the Evangelist Luke. First half of the 12th century.

25. The Liturgies, of St. Basil and the Presanctified (liturgical roll, no. 707). Architectural headpiece in the form of a church; St. Basil and two deacons. Early 13th century.



26-34. Initial letters from the liturgical roll, no. 707. O (the busts of Christ Emmanuel, Archangel Michael and Christ Pantokrator), K (the Apostle Paul, a deacon, and a falconer) and K, O and M (animals and birds). Early 13th century.

26

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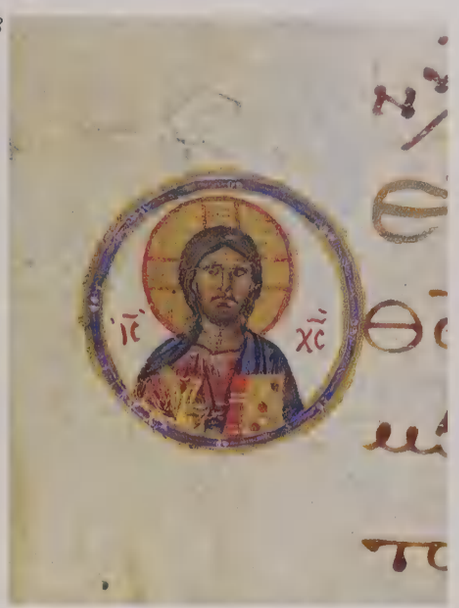

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35-36. *Gospels (codex 80, fols. 92^{v} and 131^{v}). The Evangelists Mark and Luke. Early 13th century.*

37

37. *Gospels (codex 80, fol. 80^{v}). The Evangelist Matthew. Early 13th century.*

38

38. Gospels (codex 80, fol. 192^{v}). The Evangelist John. Early 13th century.

39

39. Gospels (codex 82, fol. 96^{v}). The Evangelist Mark. Early 14th century.

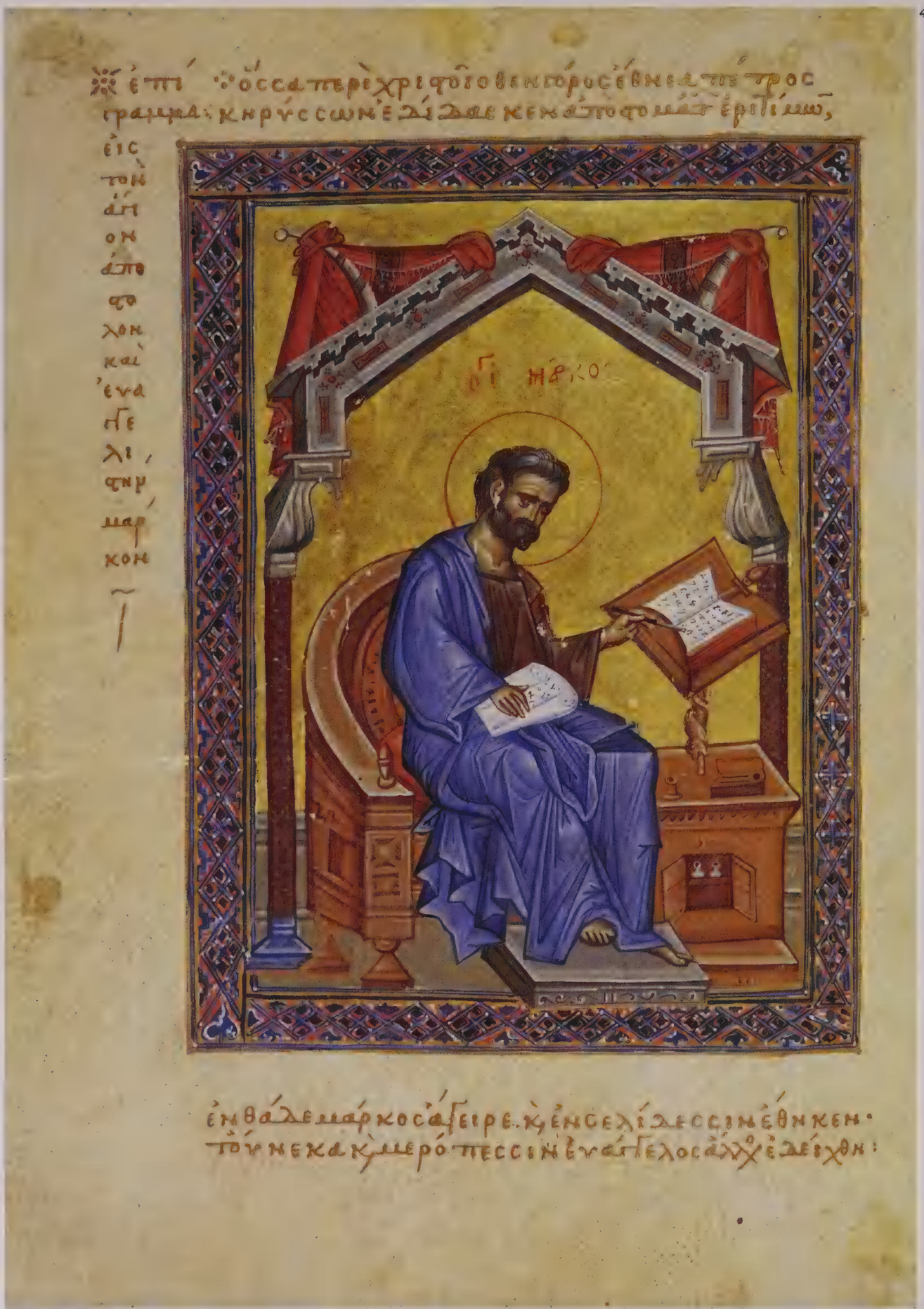
40

40. Gospels (codex 82, fol. 238^{v}). The Evangelist John. Early 14th century.

41. Gospels (codex 81, fol. 238^{v}). The Evangelist John and Prochoros. 1334/5.

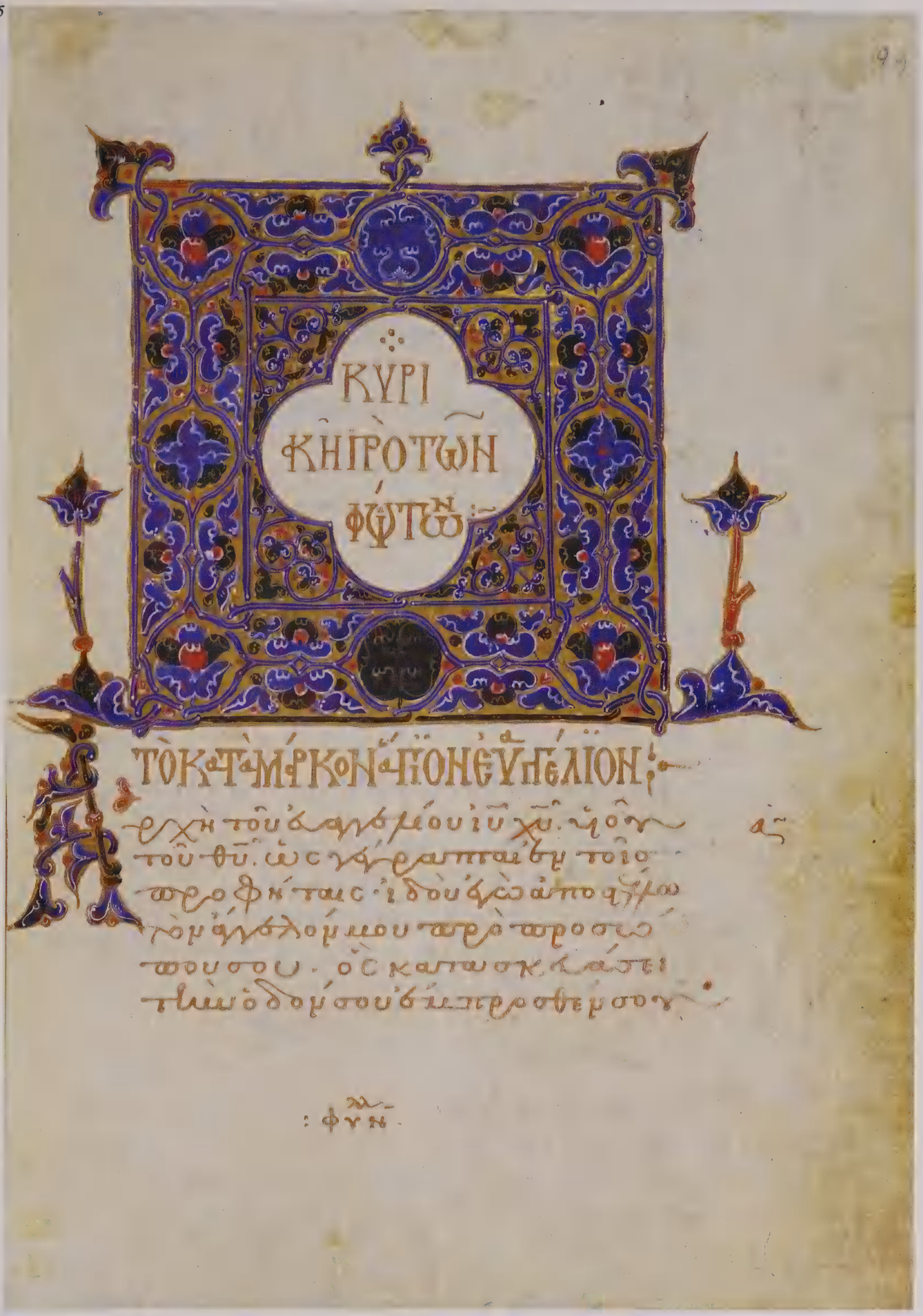
42. Gospels (codex 81, fol. 16^{v}). The Evangelist Matthew. 1334/5.

43. Gospels (codex 81, fol. 17r). Headpiece for the Gospel of Matthew. 1334/5.



44. Gospels (codex 81, fol. 98^{v}). The Evangelist Mark. 1334/5.

45



45. Gospels (codex 81, fol. 99ʳ). Headpiece for the Gospel of Mark. 1334/5.

THE LIBRARY AND THE ARCHIVE

THE LIBRARY AND THE ARCHIVE

The monastery libraries of the Byzantine world were important centres of culture and education, decentralised focuses of activity, and outposts preserving and protecting the empire. They preserved knowledge and faith, through the power of their 'treasury of words' and protected the citizens-believers from heresy.

The libraries of the major urban centres, famous in both the past and in the present, both the imperial and patriarchal – that is, public – libraries, and also the rarer private libraries, give us the measure by which the situation at their time can be compared with other periods and other geographical regions in the East and the Medieval or Renaissance West. By following the development of libraries in the West, for which we have greater evidence, we are able to comprehend, by comparison, roughly what would have been happening in the East.

The monastery libraries, small lighthouses in the boundless empire, functioned tranquilly and steadily throughout the centuries, despite the considerable damage they suffered as a result of the disasters of history, notably conquest by the Crusaders and the Turks.

Monastery libraries did not merely cover the needs of monastic life and liturgy; the abbots and monks responsible for them showed a concern for their upkeep, expansion and perpetuation that attests to an awareness of the historical role played by the libraries not only within the monasteries themselves, but also in the empire and in the Christian world in general.

A few points of clarification need to be made with regard to the various sections that formed the content of monastery libraries: up to the end of the 15th century, when the invention of printing altered the stage of History, the main content of the libraries consisted of manuscripts of all kinds – that is, books, whatever their form (whether scrolls or codices) or content (non-Christian or Christian).

Unbound documents, both official and private (that is, Monastery correspondence of all kinds), found their place alongside the manuscript books, and were stored in the 'Archive' after they had ceased to be of current interest. The library thus played host to whatever could be described as the 'written word'. It was therefore perfectly natural that, after the invention of printing, printed books should also find their place in the libraries, since they too contained the written word (though in printed rather than handwritten form).

All the kinds of material referred to above are in fact to be found in the catalogues in which, for a variety of reasons, either the entire contents of the library, or part thereof, were recorded. On rare occasions sacred vessels are listed amongst the manuscripts and documents; in these cases the two groups are clearly distinguished, since sacred liturgical objects, which did not constitute the written word, were invariably stored in the treasury. In the West, more so than in the East, the unbound documents, which were the majority, formed the 'Archive'; this was a separate section housed nearby, but not in, the library. In the East, from a very early period, though the 'Archive' formed, and continues to form, a separate section, it is always housed inside the library.

A final point of clarification: many of the objects contained in the Library – manuscripts, handwritten documents and printed books – have additional decorative elements (miniature paintings, binding decorated with metal, gold or silver, gold or lead seals, etc.), and other artistic adornments, which are of interest to other branches of History and of Art. This particular feature, however, was not enough to warrant removing the object in question from the Library and housing it in the treasury, except as a temporary measure, for exhibition or study. An analogous, though not identical, phenomenon can be observed in the case of the painted or wood-carved decoration of the churches, which is of interest to Architecture and Art.

The chapter on the Library therefore includes the following three sections: *The manuscripts*; *The documents*; and *The printed books*. All these are examined from the perspective dictated by the general title of the work: *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery*.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts, or codices,[1] are the material space in which is held captive the written word, in its turn the expression of innermost thoughts. An old library is thus a data bank containing information on a wide spectrum of the history of the human spirit. Manuscripts, however, in addition to the wealth of information they contain, are themselves evidence for and documentation of a process for recording the manifestations of the human spirit. Later generations take an equally serious interest in this process, for it too constitutes an area that stimulates our appetite for knowledge, information and learning.

Finally, it should be stressed that each manuscript is a unique object, however many times its contents may be transferred to other copies. It is this uniqueness that makes it a rare item, inaccessible to most people, precious. What makes the manuscript different from all the other equally unique works wrought by human hands – all kinds of works of art, for example – is that, over and above the artistic value that it may also possess, it carries messages that inform and influence men and societies and determine their behaviour. Since, however, manuscripts are directed only to a very few, the change they produce in human behaviour is slow. When they cease to be unique objects, however, as they did with the invention of printing, and are addressed simultaneously to broad groups of people, then the pace at which the changes occur in human societies becomes much swifter, even terrifying – as in our own times, when contemporary electronic devices are tending to replace books as the vehicles for the dissemination of information.

The Library of the Monastery on Patmos[2] has certain particular features that should be noted: a) It is one of the few Byzantine libraries that has survived a series of historical vicissitudes to reach the present day without a single interruption to its existence, even of a temporary nature. It thus has a continuity lasting 900 years, which means that the treasures it houses have inevitably accumulated 'memories' of the Aegean encircling the island, and the wider world of Hellenism, that are of great value for the study of history. b) A second feature is that it is an Orthodox monastery library founded towards the end of the 11th century, after the schism between the two Churches, but which nonetheless contains works belonging to the centuries before the schism, as well as to those after it. c) As a result of its particular character and history, the Library possesses almost exclusively Greek manuscripts.[3] The significance of this may be better appreciated by reference to the library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai, or the European libraries founded at later periods. The Sinai library reflects the fortunes of the region: the presence is felt, that is, of all the peoples who passed through, or dwelt around it; and the European libraries illustrate

not the historical vicissitudes of the countries in which they are housed, but the obsession of the secular or ecclesiastical rulers with collecting religious, artistic and cultural treasures, mainly from the East.

The gradual formation of the Library over the centuries following the foundation of the Monastery in 1088 is another story that can be studied elsewhere.[1] What we can examine here is what the treasures of the Library in fact are, and why they are so called. One aspect of this subject is the 'stored treasure' – the *content* of the manuscripts. In the case of the study of the texts of the Holy Scriptures (both Old and New Testaments), the dozens of surviving ancient manuscripts housed on Patmos[2] form an important source of material to which we shall continue to have recourse until the definitive text of the Scriptures is established (figs. 1 and 2). A second major group consists of the patristic texts, the systematic study of which has only begun in the last few decades. Basil, Gregory and Chrysostomos, the three Great Church Fathers, who were all prolific authors, are each represented in the Patmos Library by dozens of bulky manuscripts, all of first class quality[3] (figs. 3, 4 and 6). As well as these, the shelves of the Patmos Library are adorned with a whole collection of ecclesiastical writers of the late Byzantine period, especially writers of the Hesychast movement, and of post-Byzantine times. This picture of the ecclesiastical authors is completed by the hymnographers and melodists. We may simply note at this point that the earliest and finest *kontakaria*, containing hymns by Romanos the Melodist (nos. 212–213, fig. 5)[4] are preserved in the Patmos Library, and have formed the basis for the countless publications of them in recent decades.[5] Also of interest are the musical manuscripts, with early musical notation, containing hymns[6] (*stichiraria*) (fig. 7), and a vast number of manuscripts with music by known composers and music teachers of the late- and post-Byzantine periods.

The category of texts of classical and post-classical antiquity is not, it is true, adequately represented. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, until the beginning of last century, the Patmos Library housed the most important manuscript of the works of Plato, produced in the Aretha workshop in Caesarea; like the Parthenon sculptures and other precious objects, this is today one of the treasures of our cultural heritage adorning the museums and libraries of England.[7] Despite this, we can point to the earliest manuscript of the Histories of Diodorus Siculus,[8] the earliest Anthology of sayings and maxims of ancient and Christian writers,[9] the commentary of Proclus on Plato's 'Timaeus' – possibly copied by Eustathios of Thessaloniki – some of Sophocles' tragedies, and so forth. Another large and important category comprises the hagiographies (lives of saints, synaxaria etc.), and includes some important manuscripts representative of a rare tradition, such as codex 254, from the 10th century.[10]

Rhetoric, a favourite subject in Byzantine education and culture, is represented by a large number of volumes of speeches, homilies and encomia, in addition to the Catenae, or interpretations of texts of the Scriptures. Treatises on doctrine and monastic life, the canons issued by the Church Councils, Typika, Lexica and Anthologies, give a dim picture of the interests of the monks of the Monastery over the centuries.

A considerable number of codices relates to the applied sciences, medicine, astronomy, mathematics and other specialised fields of knowledge. The interests of a Greek Orthodox monastery, however, also centred on post-Byzantine Hellenism, for the Orthodox Church was the ark of the Greek people during the long centuries of enslavement. All the different categories mentioned above are to be found amongst the post-Byzantine manuscripts – adapted, of course, to the needs of the age – school books, polemics, works of rebuttal, or of an edifying nature, non-Christian or Christian. This wealth of material is an inexhaustible source for the study of modern Greek history, whether political, ecclesiastical, economic or

other. All the teachers of the Greek people and all the figures of Education, without exception, parade in the thousands of pages of post-Byzantine manuscripts. It is hardly necessary to mention here the hundreds of text-books of the Patmian School, which functioned uninterruptedly for two centuries, keeping alight the torch of Orthodoxy and of the education of the Greek people.

In addition to the content of its manuscripts, however, any Byzantine library, and in this case the Library of the Monastery of Patmos, offers other subjects of study, some of which may be noted here: the *material*, for instance, on which the texts referred to are written. It is indicative that we have no papyri, since papyrus does not survive on an island like Patmos, with its Aegean climate. In contrast, we have a large number of parchments, since they exhibit greater resistance to the afflictions that sometimes arise. We also have all kinds of paper, including Bombasine, eastern, western, etc.; paper came into general use at an early date, after the mechanisation of its production in the cities of the Medieval and Renaissance West.

As far as the *form* of the manuscripts is concerned, we are in a position to observe and study both the past history and the evolution of the book in general. The scroll (fig. 8) was an early form that was soon restricted to special kinds of text, such as church services. An exception to this rule is provided by two relatively recent discoveries in the Patmos Library: two scrolls, one containing the life of Saint Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the other the commentary by Proclus on Plato's 'Timaeus'. We may note at this point that official unbound documents, both imperial and ecclesiastical, took the form of scrolls, though because of their content they are included in the Archive (figs. 9 and 10). The question of the *binding* and techniques of binding is related to the form and size of the manuscripts. Binding, which began with the simple arrangement of bifolios, usually in groups of four (the so-called quires, like the modern sixteen-page folds), most often evolved into work of high artistic pretensions, with stamped decoration, sumptuous cloth, or decoration with masterpieces of miniature art (cf. Church Silver, figs. 45-51).

Great interest attaches to the *script* and its development. All the stages in the evolution of the Greek script and every form taken by it are represented in the Patmos Library, from the archaic majuscule, biblical (uncial), to the minuscule in all its forms (especially in the dated manuscripts[1]), from its invention and general adoption in the first half of the 9th century, to the present (figs. 1–8). With the growth of the science of palaeography, and its evolution into separate branches, our interests today extend to the ways of *ruling* the parchment, and the arrangement of the leaves during the ruling, and the numbering of the quires, to the watermarks of paper codices, which bring us to the 'paper factories' that made the material, thereby furnishing a date accurate to within a decade.[2]

The *illustration* of the manuscripts with miniatures forms a huge chapter in which many branches of science are interested. Here too, the Patmos Library offers a wealth of material for study (see Illustrated Manuscripts, pp. 277 ff).

The isolation and study of all these particular features is directed towards the scientific knowledge not only of the history of writing and the manuscript-book, but also of the wider history of the region and the people that produced them, the economic parameters, and the related processes of production, disposal and marketing of the 'product'. It is possible to identify workshops engaged in calligraphy or book-binding, professional or occasional writers, owners, donors and dedicators of books. We can calculate the price of manuscripts or books at different periods, and can infer from the high prices that the book was not a product accessible to every purse. By a comparative study of all this evidence we can try to 'reconstitute' libraries, whether imperial, patriarchal, monastery, or, in rare cases, private.

This brief note has attempted to indicate what are the 'treasures' of the Library, and why

they are to be regarded as 'treasures'. As a consequence of this review, we may close the discussion of manuscripts by posing a composite question: what has been done about these treasures in the past, what is being done at present, and what is envisaged, or rather, what ought to be done about them in the future.

The following steps are being taken, or are proposed, to prevent this treasure, this mute, imprisoned word, from remaining unexploited, and from being exposed to a variety of dangers: a) *Cataloguing:* one of the demands of modern scholarship is that manuscripts everywhere in the world should be catalogued by the analytical methods of palaeographical and manuscript studies successfully used in the manuscript libraries of the Vatican, Paris and Vienna. b) *Microphotography:* the recording of manuscripts on microfilm is one of the demands, and also one of the achievements of modern science. This means that the contents cannot be lost, and also makes them available for research without the manuscript itself being exposed to damage from use. All the manuscripts, therefore, should be recorded on microfilm. c) *Conservation–restoration:* Like all treasures, the manuscripts need to be conserved (general environment, air-conditioning, cleaning, safety conditions etc.), the damaged parts restored, and problems diagnosed and cured. d) *Study*: it may be noted that over the last twenty-five years research and renovation in the Patmos Library has supplied many stimuli for research. International interest has been aroused, requests for microfilms have become more frequent, and there has been an increasing number of visitors to the monastery wishing to inspect the manuscripts themselves. The result is a large number of scholarly publications which, together with the importance of the Patmos manuscripts, have led to their attaining a leading position in international palaeographic and manuscript research.

THE DOCUMENTS

THE ARCHIVE OF BYZANTINE DOCUMENTS

Of all the sources at the disposal of Byzantinologists, the rarest, and also the most valuable, are the archival sources. In addition to the natural deterioration of archival material with the passage of time, the succession of catastrophes that afflicted the territory of the Byzantine Empire, both before and after the fall of Constantinople, has resulted in the disappearance of great masses of archival material. Almost nothing has survived of the collections of state and church archives in the Capital, or the provincial administrative and ecclesiastical centres. It is only in a number of remote sacred foundations, such as the monasteries on Mount Athos, on Sinai, at Meteora, on Patmos, etc., that manuscripts and documents from Byzantine times have been preserved.

The archive of Byzantine documents on Patmos began to be assembled immediately after the foundation of the monastery in 1088. The original core of the archive consisted of the chrysobulls relating to the foundation, and the documents accompanying it, such as the 'proceedings of the handover' of the island to Hosios Christodoulos, and other documents connected with the newly founded Monastery and its property. A number of earlier documents, however, found their way into the archive at this date; these were documents that had been kept by the founder of the Monastery, who brought them with him to Patmos. Before he came to Patmos, Hosios Christodoulos is known to have spent time at various monastic centres in Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands (Latros, Strovilos and Kos), from which he was obliged to withdraw by the rapid advance of the Turks.

With the growth of the Monastery on Patmos, the contents of its archive steadily increased. From time to time documents came into its possession from other archival

sources, both monasteries and churches, and from the various possessions and metochia acquired by the Monastery after the 11th century on the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean.

Today, the archive contains about 150 Byzantine documents, either in the original or in validated copies dating from the Byzantine period. These constitute one of the most important surviving collections of Byzantine documents, ranging in date from the last quarter of the 11th century to the 15th. More specifically, there are: 35 documents from the 11th century, 27 from the 12th, 65 from the 13th and 6 from the 14th-15th (as well as a number of forged or dubious documents from this same period).

There were many more documents in the archive which have not been preserved, but for which there is evidence in the written sources. From one item alone, that has survived by chance – an Inventory of documents from the beginning of the 13th century (fig. 12) – we learn that as the result of a classification of the archive carried out at that time, about 200 documents were removed from the current archive and 'placed in the sacks, as being useless'. These were documents from Latros, Kos, Strovilos, Ikaria, etc. Of these (over 200 in number), only 15 have been preserved.

Moreover, if we take account of the documents that have not survived, but which are mentioned in those that have, it may be calculated that the total number issued for the Monastery was in excess of 500 (both public and private documents relating to the Monastery and its property, and documents that came into the possession of the Monastery for a variety of reasons).

It should be noted that the monks were particularly concerned to preserve the Monastery archive. This was a general requirement of the internal regulations (the *Typika*) of the monasteries. Hosios Christodoulos, in his *Hypotyposis*, observes: 'and the sacristan must take delivery, with a list, and carefully keep the books and the paper rights of the Monastery'.[1]

From time to time new classifications were made of the assembled archival material, and the bulk of the documents of no further practical use was removed from the current archive. At the same time, unsettled situations led to the loss of entire *apodesmoi*, or sections of the archive. A Patmian document of 1267, or 1282, records that, after an attack by pirates on the Spondon Monastery (a metochion of the Patmos Monastery on Kos), all the 'paper rights' of the Monastery were lost.

The Patmos archive contains a rich and interesting collection of imperial documents (53 in all). Many of them are chrysobulls: these are impressive documents, written on parchment or paper (which was scarce at that period), in a careful script, with decorative letters at the beginning, and the signature of the emperor at the end, written in his own hand in large letters with cinnabar (red ink). They were cylindrical scrolls, two or three metres in length, with the gold seal of the emperor suspended from the bottom. These were the most formal documents issued by the Byzantine emperors. Through them the emperor ceded or renewed exemptions from taxes and other privileges to his subjects (or foundations), and to foreign powers (the Pope, Venice, etc.).

Chrysobulls survive on Patmos issued by Michael VII Doukas, Nikephoros Votaneiatis, Alexios I Comnenos and his mother, Anna Dalassina, John and Manuel Comnenos, Alexios and Isaakios Angelos, Michael VIII Paleologos and his wife Theodora, Andronikos II, Andronikos III, and others, covering a period of approximately four hundred years, from the last quarter of the 11th to the 15th century.

The chrysobull relating to the foundation of the monastery, in which the emperor Alexios I Comnenos granted the island of Patmos to Christodoulos in 1088 (fig. 9), also contains the longest surviving list of tax exemptions, illustrating the esteem in which

the emperor held Christodoulos and the importance he attached to the Monastery on Patmos.

Imperial documents occasionally furnish otherwise unknown information about the complex procedure involved in the conveyancing of properties, a procedure that reveals the existence of very well-organised state services; an example is furnished by the pittakia of Alexios I Comnenos, which were drawn up by a series of different secretariates, in order to grant Patmos to Christodoulos (fig. 11).[1]

The reverse side (verso) of a chrysobull of Nikephoros Votaneiatis (1079) preserves a unique 'note' in the hand of the emperor. Previously we had only the testimony of the sources for this habit of the emperors of writing on the reverse of documents, there being no surviving example.

The study of the 'notes' on the back of the documents of Patmos has led to some interesting observations. The notes attached by important state officials to the *kollemata* (leaves) at the end of the 11th century, for example, are written in huge letters, occasionally as tall as 18 cm.[2]

In addition to the points already made, the archive of Byzantine documents on Patmos is of great value and importance for a wide variety of reasons:

1. As we have already seen, the material does not come only from the Monastery on Patmos. It comes from and has reference to a wide geographical area, stretching from Asia Minor to Euboea and from Crete to Lemnos. In particular, the Patmos archive contains almost the only surviving Byzantine documents from Asia Minor (either in the original or in validated copies).

2. The contents of this material are very varied, and illuminate many aspects not only of monastic life and the organisation and functioning of monasteries, but also of the administrative system of the Byzantine state, the economic history of the Empire, and so on.

To facilitate the foundation and growth of the Monastery on Patmos, a number of imperial and other rescripts were issued, as we have seen, granting exemption or relief from taxation. These 'privileges' were from time to time renewed, and were usually extended by successive emperors. The decisions were implemented by the state administrative services. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical, military and administrative authorities used to intervene in the affairs of the Monastery and its metochia. Its properties were measured by tax officials. Various disputes and differences that arose from time to time had to be settled. In order to solve these problems, specific documents were issued by the state and other services. The different matters mentioned in the documents of the Patmos archive (granting of privileges, taxation, customs duties, settlers, movement of goods, ships and so on) form an introduction to the labyrinthine state machinery, and afford unique evidence for the functioning of a number of institutions.[3]

At the same time, the documents in the Patmos archive occasionally furnish valuable historical evidence for events in the south eastern Aegean and Asia Minor from the end of the 11th century to the 14th or 15th (raids by the Turks, by Italian pirates, etc.).

3. The Patmos archive includes, as we have seen, a large number of documents dating from the last quarter of the 11th century. The Byzantine documents from this period are amongst the earliest that have been preserved. In this respect, only the archive of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos is comparable with the archive of Patmos.

4. The Patmos archive contains a number of rare, or even unique, examples of various kinds of Byzantine document. We may note: a) a long scroll in which are collected all the records relating to the landed property owned by the Monastery in the years immediately after its foundation – a document of great importance from the point of view of diplomacy:[4] b) unique documents issued by the 'secretariate of the sea'; c) a sigillion signed by 'the servant of the most reverent, reverent Anna Comnena'; d) an original order of the empress Theodora Paleologaena.[5]

The preparation of the diplomatic edition of the entire collection of Byzantine documents has been undertaken by the Centre of Byzantine Research in the National Hellenic Research Foundation.[1]

DOCUMENTS OF BYZANTINE FUNCTIONARIES

The Archive of the Sacred Monastery of Patmos contains 27 documents issued by Byzantine functionaries. They are nearly all preserved in either the original or a validated copy (with the exception of two, one of which is a non-validated copy, and the other forged). They thus have particular importance for the diplomatic study of this kind of document.

These documents naturally have to be correlated with the corresponding ones emanating from the emperors, since they frequently refer to the same matters and supplement each other. Generally speaking, the documents issued by the functionaries of the Byzantine state represent the application of specific decisions or orders by the emperors and, since they are based on the law in force at the time, they reflect reality and are incontrovertible and objective witnesses of their time. Accordingly, they form a valuable, and frequently a unique, source for the study of institutions and administration, for society and the economy – particularly the relationship between land-ownership and imperial financial policy. They also afford important evidence for the study of the toponyms of an area, for personal names and surnames, and for language. Emphasis should be placed on this last point, which has only begun to be noticed and exploited in recent years. For the documents of the functionaries, unlike those issued by the emperors, which follow a particular formula, are not subject to strict rules, and therefore exhibit greater freedom in their formulation. Moreover, since the officials who composed them were often of limited education, and could not use the official language of the state secretariate with any facility, the documents they issued are closer to the spoken language of the period. It should be added that, since they were often composed in the provinces, they are influenced by the local dialect, and preserve dialect forms. Two documents from Patmos, for example, from the years 1271 and 1288, which were drawn up on Kos, contain idioms and expressions characteristic of the local dialect.

The documents in the Patmos archive issued by functionaries cover a chronological span of more than two centuries: from 1073 to 1288. One section of them dates from the 11th and 12th centuries, a time of great growth in the bureaucracy, though the majority come from the 13th century, when the public services were being modified as a result of the major political events of the time (the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, the reconstitution of the empire at Nicaea, and the recovery of the Capital in 1261), which produced major changes in the structure and functioning of the state. These documents therefore constitute a very valuable source for the study of the functioning and evolution of the state machinery of the empire.

From the point of view of their content, they deal with a great variety of subjects and provide essential, and occasionally unique, information not only on the monastery itself and the island, but on some areas of Asia Minor (mainly Miletos and the region of the Maeander in general, etc.), and on both the nearer and more distant islands of the Aegean, such as Leipso, Leros, Kalymnos and Kos, and Lemnos and Crete, where the Monastery had metochia or estates, or with which it had commercial and economic dealings. A number of documents refer to the ships owned by the Monastery. From these it is clear that the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian possessed its own ships, which it used to ensure the procurement of supplies and the transportation of goods – either presented to the monastery by other areas, or produced for it by its estates – and also for purposes of trade. These

documents reveal that in 1195 the Monastery possessed a ship or ships with a total capacity of 1,500 modii, and that in 1199 the force had increased to 2,000 modii. These ships were allowed to call in at all the ports in the empire without having to pay the usual taxes and customs dues, and could put in once a year at Constantinople itself. In 1273, according to another document, the four 'sandalia' (small boats) owned by the Monastery could put in 'at the coastal lands for some business' without paying tax.

Of the total number of documents issued by functionaries, the *praktikon* for the handover of the island of Patmos to the founder of the Monastery, Hosios Christodoulos (August 1088) (fig. 11), may be singled out, not only because it is the second most important document relating to the foundation of the Monastery – after the chrysobull by which the donation was made – but also because, as part of the procedure of measuring the island, it gives a lucid picture of the condition of Patmos prior to the foundation of the Monastery: the official in charge found the island to be 'desolate and uncultivated', 'waterless', without trees 'save for twenty wild pear-trees' and with no houses or other buildings, apart from the 'humble chapel' of Saint John the Theologian, which was all that remained of the former 'great church'.

Mention may also be made of three 'acts of the secretariate of the sea' (of the years 1195, 1199 and 1203), relating to the procedure by which the capacity of the Monastery's ships was measured by the appropriate services from Constantinople, and the ships handed over to the ownership of the Monastery (fig. 13). These three 'acts' are rare examples of Byzantine diplomacy, both on account of their content and because they are the only documents of their kind and amongst the very few surviving documents emanating from the central services of the Byzantine State. It should be emphasised that the latest is dated December 1203, and therefore affords direct evidence that the central public services continued to operate normally until the very eve of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders (April 1204).

We may note three more documents, dating from the year 1273 (fig. 14) issued by the official in the imperial secretariate 'in charge of the imperial ink-pot', i.e. the one who was keeping the imperial ink, the 'cinnabar', and who also had general control of the imperial documents. These documents are the only examples of their kind.

Certain types of document emanating from functionaries bore the lead seal (molybdobull) of the issuing official. Very few of these have survived, amongst them the seal of the protovestiaritis Georgios Zagarommatis, which is also a superb example of its kind from an artistic point of view (figs. 15-16).

By studying the documents issued by functionaries in the Patmos Archive, we can follow the attempts of the monks to preserve or increase the estates owned by the Monastery, and to gain exemption from taxes and other obligations to the state. It is also possible to trace the policy of the Byzantine emperors towards this important monastic centre, and to derive evidence for their general financial policy.

PATRIARCHAL, MONASTERY AND PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

The Monastery of Patmos, a famous centre of Orthodoxy from the period of its foundation, naturally had close contacts with the Patriarchate. These relations began with the founder of the monastery before he even came to the island of the Revelation. Christodoulos, a famous monk in his own time, had been abbot of the monasteries on Mount Latros in the region of Miletos at the time of the first Turkish raids in southwest Asia Minor. He was obliged to leave these retreats, because of the Turks, and go down to the coast – whereupon he was accused of abandoning them and had to defend his actions by visiting Constantinople and

entering into correspondence with the Patriarch. One of these letters, which is still preserved, gives a vivid picture of the tragedy of the population of Asia Minor at the time of the Turkish advance. He was finally declared innocent by the Patriarch Nikolaos Grammatikos, as emerges from a surviving document of 1087, and went first to Kos and later to Patmos, then a deserted island, where he founded the Monastery in 1088, as a result of the famous chrysobull of Alexios I Comnenos. In 1091 he composed the *Hypotyposis* of the new monastery (that is, the regulations governing its functioning) a copy of which still survives in the precious parchment codex 267 of the Library. As was customary at the time, the founder Christodoulos regarded the Monastery and its dependencies almost as his own property. For example, at Christodoulos' request the emperor had forbidden married laymen to live on the island; but when it became clear that no unmarried labourers could be found to work on the monastery, especially on the construction of the monastery building and the fortress, Christodoulos decided on his own initiative to permit (with certain restrictions) the first settlement of women on the island, without ever having sought ratification for this departure from the authorities in Constantinople.

A similar approach is evident in the immediately following monastery documents; these are preserved in the original, are also written on Bombasine paper, and formed the basis on which the Monastery functioned for centuries. When Christodoulos was compelled, under the pressure of the Turkish pirate fleet, to leave Patmos once more with his pupils and take refuge in Euboea, he wrote supplementary regulations which were included in a codicil to his secret testament – two original notary documents of 1093 signed by the hand of the Hosios himself. When he died, in 1094, his heir presumptive, who had been designated by Christodoulos himself, resigned from the office of abbot of the Monastery of Patmos in a document drawn up before a notary public in Constantinople; he said that he was afraid of the sea, the harsh life on the barren island, and chiefly, he feared the pirates and the Turks. The Aegean was at this date highly unsettled.

The situation was restored by the first Crusade, however, the monks returned, and the monastery was revived, this time for good. The new abbots, Joseph Iasitis, Sabbas, Theoktistos (1157) and Germanos (1272) issued regulations and guidance to the monks in documents that take the form of a will, in which they give detailed accounts of the difficulties they have suffered in order to serve the interests of their monastery.

At the same time there is evidence of conscious attempts to organise the administration of the Monastery's property on a sound basis. Inventories were made of the precious objects, and especially the books; there were some hundreds of the latter, coming originally mainly from the library on Latros, though many others were added as time passed, as a result of donations by men who brought their library with them when they came to be monks at the monastery, where they died. Christodoulos speaks in some detail of the library he brought from Latros. From 1103 we have the earliest surviving list of books. There are also lists of documents in the archive. Other lists of manuscripts and treasures date from 1200 and 1307, while yet others are of uncertain date. All these show in some detail the way in which the library and the treasury grew during the Middle Ages. We also learn that the monastery loaned books to anyone in the area who was interested – to priests who needed them for services, and also to the aristocracy of Asia Minor who simply wanted to read them.

Patmos, a free and independent monastery, under the protection of both the emperor and the Patriarch, was declared a *stauropegion* prior to 1132; the privilege was renewed in this year by the Patriarch John IX Agapitos, and again in 1158 by Loukas Chrysovergis. Later, other Patriarchs confirmed its independence of the bishops of the area. The Monastery had now become a centre of attraction and exercised an influence in many directions. It was visited by bishops, some of whom died there, leaving their papers to the archive. The abbot

was always well-informed, thanks to his supporters in service in the metropolitan sees, who wrote to him with the latest news. One of these was Nikitas Karantinos, in the middle of the 13th century, who wrote to the abbot from Miletos with all the news that had reached the Asia Minor city, whether of world-wide or only local significance: peace between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians, war between the Turks and the Tatars, the deeds of Michael Paleologos (later emperor), the imprisonment of John Paleologos, irregularities with the peasants on one of the Monastery's estates, all mixed up together. This unique letter illustrates the way news travelled in the Middle Ages.

Many of the provinces of the empire, in which the Monastery possesses, or at some time possessed estates are represented in the Monastery archive. A wide variety of private documents and contracts came into the hands of the monks, either as title deeds to property they were themselves acquiring, or as earlier title deeds accompanying the property acquired. Deeds of purchase, donations, exchanges, wills, various kinds of agreement, written on parchment or on paper, still have the signatures and inscriptions of the *tabularii* or *nomikoi* (notaries) and the contracting parties and witnesses, or even the *signa* – the crosses made by the illiterate at the beginning of the document, leaving the scribe to fill in their name and titles. The agreement survives, for example, resolving in the court of upper Crete at Chandaka (Heraklion), in the year 1118, the suit between the inhabitants of the village of Menikos and a certain Achilles Limenitis concerning the use of the water of a spring. We also have a deed of purchase for vines in Messara, Crete, in the year 1195. There is a great number of 13th century private documents from the area of Miletos and the Sanctuary in Asia Minor, and from the islands of Kos and Leros, on which the Monastery on Patmos had well-known, important metochia. A 13th century document has even been found on Patmos relating to the small island of Kea, about the medieval history of which almost nothing is so far known; it contains information relating to families and to property that at some time came into the hands of the Monastery on Patmos through its metochion of Saint Panteleimon.

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Belonging to a sensitive maritime area on which the ambitions of the great powers had centred for many centuries, the island of Patmos found itself face to face, after the gradual decline of Byzantine domination, with two worlds, each trying to prevail in the Aegean – Christendom and Islam. Barren by nature and with only a tiny population, the island seems for a time to have remained outside the sphere of the immediate interests of both the Turks and the Latins, who had occupied the Asia Minor coasts and the Aegean during the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries. During this critical period, the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, with its influence and reputation and its long religious tradition, became the main regulator of the affairs of the island. And when later, after 1453, Patmos became a tributary subject of the Ottoman Empire, the fact that no Turks were settled on the island meant that the abbot continued to be the head of a semi-independent state. It is indicative in this respect that the inhabitants are referred to in the documents as 'sudditi nostri', that is, as subjects of the Monastery.

The Monastery's attempts to survive and continue its historical course during a period of great difficulty for the fortunes of Hellenism are attested in the foreign language material in the Library. These documents, Latin, Venetian, Turkish, Russian and Romanian, reveal the activities entered into by the Monastery with a view to gaining the protection and economic support of the Catholic powers and the princes of Russia and the Danubian principalities, to securing lenient treatment from the Turks, and, finally, to retaining possession of its estates on Crete.

Latin documents. The Latin documents in the Patmos archive, which form an important group from the point of view of both content and numbers, may be divided into a) documents emanating from Catholic ecclesiastical and secular rulers, granting privileges to the monastery (about 70 documents from the 15th to the 18th centuries), and b) documents relating to the metochion of the monastery at Stylos in Crete (about 770 documents, in both Italian and Greek, from the 13th to the 19th centuries, and 54 registers).

The concern shown by the Catholic powers (popes, kings and Grand Masters) to protect the island of Saint John de Palmosa, was not solely due to religious piety, but was owed mainly to the fact that the monks had become adept as spies, informing the authorities in Crete and Naxos of the movements of the Turks in the region. Of these documents, reference may be made to the encyclical of the Patriarch of Venice, Lodovico Scarampa, of 1457 (threatening anyone who harmed Patmos with excommunication), the letter of Pope Pius II to the Archbishops of Crete and Kolossai, of 1461 (appealing to them to protect the Monastery from acts of plunder), the bulls of the Grand Masters Emeri d'Amboise of the year 1508 (instructing his subjects to regard the Patmians as vassals of Rhodes) and Alofius de Wignacourt, of 1613 (fig. 18), the document emanating from the Doge of Venice, Pasqual Cicogna, of 1590 (fig. 17) (granting exemption from taxes to Monastery boats putting in at Venice), and that of Philip III of Spain, of 1609 (granting permission for an alms mission in his realm).

The documents in the second group relate to the efforts of the Monastery during the period of Venetian rule to retain its title to the rich metochion it already owned on Crete in Byzantine times. In 1296, the vice rectors of Chania ratified an earlier grant of land to the metochion, and in 1307, Pietro Gradenigo, the Doge of Venice, gave permission to the monks of Stylos to export corn annually from Crete to Patmos, and granted permission to own land to settlers who had been transferred to Crete from Patmos in the face of the Turkish threat. There are also numerous documents relating to the leasing of farm-lands owned by the metochion to the peasants, which afford abundant material for the study of the rural economy of Crete.

Turkish documents. The earliest of the group of about 200 Turkish documents preserved in the archive of the Monastery are the orders of Mehmed II the Conqueror (1454, 1465) (fig. 19), Bayezid II (1496, 1503, 1507), his sons Alemsah (1497, 1499) and Korkut (1511), and Suleiman the Magnificent (1521/2). These firmans relate to the preferential policy pursued by the Turks towards Patmos (lenient taxation, protection of the Patmians from plundering, concessions in the market to products from the Aegean areas, permission to purchase corn annually from the Palace).

Romanian documents. The 36 Romanian documents (30 in Romanian, 4 in Slavonic and 2 in Greek) cover the period from 1584 to 1820, and relate to the assistance given to the Monastery and the Patmian School by the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, as part of their general policy towards the Orthodox Church under the Ottomans. Of these documents, 22 concern the granting or renewal of a financial donation, and 13 deal with alms missions by the abbot Iakovos amongst the Christians, both clerics and laymen.

Russian documents. The Russian documents date from the years 1656-1705, 1772-1775 and 1803-1805. Of these, 6 refer to the alms missions in Muscovy on behalf of the Monastery on Patmos and the Monastery of the Theotokos on Milos; a further 6 to the Russian occupation of the island, and 3 to the commercial activities of the Patmians in the Crimaea. The earliest documents from the Russian imperial Chancellery were issued by Tsar Alexios Mikhailovic (1 document of 1656) (fig. 20) and his sons, Theodore Alexeevic (1 document of 1676) and Peter I (2 documents of 1705).

THE ARCHIVE FROM THE PERIOD OF TURKISH RULE

Amidst the general poverty of archives in Greece, Patmos is a happy exception. The indomitable Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, and the relatively early, organised community of the islanders formed two of the richest sources of archives in the history of Greece. At a time that has not yet been precisely established, the bigger part of the archive of the community was amalgamated with the Monastery archive; thenceforth they formed a common archive, referred to in the bibliography as the Archive of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos. A small section of the community archive, however, consisting of five leather-bound codices, a land-register and tax books (17th-19th centuries), did not share the fortunes of the rest of the material, and is now in the Town Hall of Chora on Patmos.

The volume of material in the archive is imposing: more than 14,000 documents, covering a period of four centuries (16th -19th), and over 200 more tax, and related, papers of the Monastery and the community from the same period. Apart from the importance of the sheer volume, however, what should be stressed is the satisfactory degree of cohesion and continuity in the archival material. The general development of historical studies has led to the collection of archival material in many parts of Greece, as a valuable source for the study of modern Greek history. Most of this material, however, is fragmentary and uneven, thus denying to historical research one of its most fundamental tools, comparison.

The Patmian archive from the period of Turkish rule not only forms a continuity with the brilliant Byzantine history of the Monastery, but also makes it possible to follow, without gaps in the evidence, the uninterrupted life of the Monastery to the present day, the emergence and evolution of the community of the inhabitants of the island, the initial collaboration between these two institutions, and their historically determined divergence.

After the Monastery decided to place its archive at the disposal of scientific research, a basic classification of the material was made, as part of the research programme of the Centre for Modern Greek Studies in the National Hellenic Research Foundation (1961-1964).[1] Since that time, scholars have made use of the material in the Patmos archive in their work, and others will certainly do so in the future.

The scholar interested in acquiring a preliminary idea of the content of the archive can consult the publication referred to, in *Ἐρανιστής*. Here I shall confine myself to stating, even more briefly than there, that apart from the patriarchal and other official ecclesiastical documents, the archive contains: information on the internal life of the Monastery (spiritual, adminstrative and economic); community and private contractual documents (dowries, wills etc.); material on the Patmian School, its teachers and pupils; documents concerning the relations between the Monastery and the community and the Ottoman authorities, especially the Capudan Pasha and the Dragoman of the Fleet; documents related to the other sovereign powers in Aegean: the Franks (documents from 1368 onwards) and the Russians (1772-1775); tax books with registers of the inhabitants of the island; details concerning the economic relations between the Monastery, the community and the inhabitants; and of course a wealth of material relating to the Greek War of Independence and the contribution made by the Patmians to the national struggle, and to the economic, political and social life of the island in the 19th century. One important section of the archive consists of documents connected with the 20 or so metochia of the Monastery outside Patmos (in Smyrna, Crete, Zakynthos, Kalymnos, Naxos and elsewhere), which shed additional light on the local history of areas that do not always enjoy the same favourable archival tradition as Patmos.

It would be inappropriate to close this note without reference to the great problems involved in the classification of this type of archive. The person making the classification is called upon in these cases not to reconstitute an already existing, organised system, but to assign the material to small, manageable units that reflect, even in part, the presumed organisational system of the social group that produced it. It goes without saying, therefore, that the classification of the Patmian archive is purely a conventional one. Consequently, each historian who uses the archive bears the responsibility for notionally dismantling the system and reclassifying the material, producing through his own inquiries a continually changing picture of the human society that he is attempting to study.

The discovery of an archive, its classification and notional or real re-classification, are moments in the unceasing task of the historian. Patmos, however, sends out its own steady message. It requires us to understand the special position it occupies within the historical space of the Aegean, its isolation as a small island, and the Mediterranean cohesion in the sanctity of its worship and the daily life of its inhabitants.

PRINTED BOOKS

THE LIBRARIES OF THE MONASTERY AND THE PATMIAN SCHOOL

Precisely when the first printed books made their appearance in the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian is not known. In a centre renowned for the preservation and production of manuscripts, it was only natural that the printed book, which was disseminated in the West from as early as the 15th century, should make a late appearance, since, in order to meet the needs of the liturgy and of spiritual reflection, the monks had at their disposal the vast store of manuscript codices in the Monastery Library. The fact that the earliest evidence for the existence of printed books in the Monastery occurs only at the end of the 16th to the beginning of the 17th centuries is further accounted for in part by the mistrust felt by Orthodox Christians for the printed document, especially the printed liturgy, which, it was suspected, might be tampered with and altered by western printers; by the isolation of Patmos, under Turkish domination; and also by piratical raids. The books belonged to the personal collections of some of the learned brethren: texts of ancient Greek authors and Church Fathers, published in Italy and Germany from the 15th to the 17th centuries, 'both Christian and non-Christian', in the phrase of one of the owners of these publications, Nikephoros Chartophylax of Crete, Abbot of Patmos and later Metropolitan of Laodicea. He was personally acquainted with Constantinople and Rome, and probably acquired some of the printed books in his personal library at these two major centres of East and West, or through the increasing contacts between Patmos and these centres, arising out of the Monastery's affairs. In 1625, three years before his death, his books, both manuscripts and printed books, were placed in a room contiguous with the Monastery katholikon (the room called the 'outer treasury'), especially built by him, according to an inscription incorporated into it. The increase in the number of his books to the point where it was necessary to construct a building in which to house them seems to have been connected not only with Nikephoros' own interests and aspirations, but also with the teaching that he offered in the Monastery to anyone, monk or layman, who desired to obtain a broader education. Pindar, Euripides, Ammonius and his notes on Aristotle, and John Chrysostomos were some of the authors he studied and taught in his classes.

Nikephoros' educational work was not continued after his death and this was one of the factors contributing to the interruption in the introduction into the Monastery of printed books, at least of non-Christian literature; this, despite the fact that throughout the 17th

century there were educated monks, and communications with Constantinople and Rome were unhindered, and indeed, were extended to the Danubian Principalities and Russia. The preconditions for new educational activities had to be created before interest was aroused in the printed book, and the need for it as a tool for higher education appreciated. This came about in the following century. In 1713, Makarios Kaloyeras, a Patmian monk who had graduated from the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople, founded the 'Patmian School' in the precinct of the Cave of the Revelation; during the 18th century this School evolved into one of the most important cultural centres of the eastern Mediterranean. In conformity with the educational model of Constantinople, his lectures concentrated on the interpretation of ancient Greek authors and the Church Fathers, and on the teaching of grammar, the philosophy of Aristotle, and rhetoric, using the ancient and modern commentators on the great philosopher, such as Theophilos Korydaleus; they were based both on the manuscript codices and on the publications with commentaries produced by the Western humanists and the Greek presses of Venice. He had himself earlier formed a considerable personal collection of books, but in the solitude of Patmos, he was continually concerned to supplement it, pleading with the friends and acquaintances with whom he corresponded, or entrusting them with commissions; sometimes he received donations from the patrons of the School, amongst whom were some of the Phanariot families, and the guild of furriers from Constantinople, and sometimes unsolicited gifts from different parts of Greece. His pupil, fellow-teacher, and later successor as director of the School, Gerasimos Byzantios (1737) was his teacher's equal in terms of the number of manuscripts and printed books that he owned for use in study and teaching. After Gerasimos' death in Crete (1740), these two collections formed the original core of the School Library.

At the same time, however, the Monastery Library had begun to include printed books, mainly deriving from bequests of books by those monks who had kept personal collections in their cells. Under the directorship of Gerasimos' successor, Vasileios Koutalinos, an official Inventory of the printed books, manuscripts and text-books of the Patmian School was compiled in 1769, on the instructions of a Patriarchal letter, after accusations had been made of misappropriation of the School's income and books. It contains about 170 titles of printed books, in Greek and Latin, belonging to the Patmian School (about another 50 volumes are listed collectively), and a note is made of 12 'belonging to the Sacred Monastery on the island, which were found in the School'. The movement of books from one institution to the other does not appear to have been governed by strict rules. After the slackness observable under the directorship of Vasileios, and the loss of a number of books, the Library of the Patmian School was organised on a more rational basis, in accordance with the directions issued by the Patriarchate itself: a librarian was appointed for the first time, and the operation of the library was strictly supervised. At the same time, the appointment in 1773 of Daniel Kerameus, a distinguished grammarian, to the directorship of the School, of which he was an alumnus, restored to the Library the reputation it had lost. Ways of enriching the Library now multiplied. In addition to donations and dedications, advantage was taken of the possibilities opened up by the growth of the mercantile marine after the Russo-Turkish War: orders for books were placed with the Patmian merchant Pothitos Xenos, and executed through the Greek publishing houses in Venice.

During these same years, there are references to the Monastery Library in the writings of foreign travellers. First date: 1776. The French diplomat Choiseul-Gouffier, on a visit to Patmos, met with a monk who had studied in Italy, was an admirer of Voltaire and Rousseau, and had once been a candidate for the librarianship of the library of a Cardinal; from this monk, Choiseul-Gouffier learned that the Monastery had very few books, and equally few people capable of using them. The standards of comparison used by his

interlocutor, who was familiar with the importance of monastery libraries in the West, no doubt did the Monastery an injustice. Second date: 1801. The English mineralogist E.D.Clarke, who visited the Monastery Library, observed that the printed books were all on the shelves of the small room, and that the monks attached greater importance to them than to the manuscripts. Times had, in fact, changed. As the manuscript now existed alongside the printed book, the latter had begun to displace the former. Clarke described the manuscripts of the Library as thrown on the floor in disorder, prey for the worms and damp – although he was perhaps exaggerating, in order to justify his removal of the famous codex of Plato, under the lure of money. This betrayal of the treasures of his ancestors so incensed Adamantios Korais in Paris, that he publicly denounced it a few years later; before this, however, the monastic community, stung into action by the event, was taking drastic steps. As early as the following year, 1802, they built a new, spacious library above the narthex of the katholikon, which they called the 'Dispensary of the Soul', and called upon the librarian to value the manuscript books more than his own life, according to the archaising inscription incorporated above the entrance.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE LIBRARIES

The 19th century was of decisive importance for the fortunes of both libraries, since they were completely merged during the course of it. In the decade before the Greek War of Independence of 1821, the Patmian School, under the direction of the learned deacon Païsios Karapatas, introduced the new scientific learning into the curriculum in an attempt to shake off the character of a traditional school for which it had been distinguished, and align itself with the new type of educational institution that had been founded and was now operating in the eastern Aegean, on Chios and at Smyrna and Kydonies. This reform in the organisation and teaching of the School was accompanied by a modernisation of the library. Greek books on mathematics, physics, geography and history, most of them published on the Greek presses of Vienna, now took their place alongside the earlier publications. The Zosimas brothers, generous patrons of the School, supplied it with bulk orders of books by Evgenios Voulgaris, Nikephoros Theotokis, Korais and other writers. Karapatas himself had formed a personal collection of books which, after his premature death (1818), was deposited by his relatives with the library of the Patmian School (1824). It is nowhere stated in the sources, but it is very probable that the library of the Patmian School was moved and amalgamated with the Monastery Library during the War of Independence.

Already, shortly before the Struggle, the School had begun to face the danger of dissolution. Deprived now of regular income and teaching staff, and its buildings abandoned to the ravages of time, it found itself on the point of ceasing to function. This in fact actually occurred on a few occasions during the course of the Struggle. The governors of the School, amongst whom were the abbot and sacristan of the Monastery, can have had no other choice but to decide, on the grounds of security, to transfer the Library from the precinct of the Cave of the Revelation to the fortified enclosure of Saint John the Theologian. This is confirmed by the inventory of the books of the Monastery drawn up at the end of the 1820s. In 1829, Ioannis Kolettis, then commissioner of the eastern Sporades, acting in conformity with a general directive from the government of Kapodistrias, requested the Monastery on Patmos to compile and send to him a catalogue of the books and manuscripts in its Library. This catalogue contained a quantity of printed books out of all proportion to the number apparently really owned by the Monastery at that time. In fact, the 628 titles in the catalogue, which represented twice as many actual volumes, included the books that demonstrably belonged to the library of the Patmian School.

Thenceforth the development of the Library was determined by the factors that

traditionally influenced it: donations, dedications, purchases of books, and especially bequests, sometimes of entire collections assembled by the fathers and brothers of the Monastery for their private use. Evidence survives from the 19th century making clear the concern showed for the organisation and operation of the Library. The books were classified appart from the manuscripts; from 1866 they began to be stamped with a special stamp, and in 1872 they were catalogued according to a scientific system. At this time Ierotheos Floridis, as Monastery librarian, compiled the catalogue of both the manuscripts and the printed books in the Library, a work that remained unpublished. Following the method used to describe the manuscripts, he listed the titles of about 800 printed books (not including books in foreign languages), together with the details identifying them, and many of the features distinguishing the copies: owner's inscriptions, memoranda etc. In 1894, moreover, under the title 'Parrhesia', he inaugurated the register of loans – a sure indication that the Library was functioning, and that the monks of modern times were fond of reading. The rehousing of the library of manuscripts and printed books in a different part of the Monastery, in 1970, and its evolution into a centre of Byzantine studies and palaeography, has led to the acquisition of new publications, to serve the needs of scholarly study and research.

THE HISTORICAL KERNEL OF THE BOOKS

The historical kernel of printed books has been augmented in recent years by the incorporation of a number of old books deriving either from the private libraries of Patmian donors, such as the library of Panayotis Kritikos, Professor of Pharmacology, or from the collecting of liturgical books from the churches on Patmos and the metochia of the Monastery. Today the Library includes about 1,000 titles from the 15th to the 18th centuries, and over 2,000 from the 19th. The incunabula, 11 in number, represent part of the publishing output of the Italian printers and their Greek colleagues during the Italian Renaissance. Almost all of these are the *editiones principes* of the texts they contain. The 'Anthology of various epigrams', for example, whose presence in the Monastery Library is noted with approval by Clarke, is an edition printed in 1494 in Florence, and edited by Ianos Laskaris. In the Patmos copy (fig. 21), some of the illuminated capitals in the text have been repainted by the hand of one of the book's owners, and the pages are full of handwritten notes and the commentary. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius was also published by the same editor in Florence, in the year 1496. Amongst the prized possessions of the Library are six *editiones principes* by the famous Venice printer Aldus Manoutius, the earliest being the 'Grammatical Introduction' by Theodoros Gazis (1495), one of the books from the collection of Gerasimos Byzantios, the teacher of the Patmian School (fig. 22). There is a total of over thirty books from the press of Aldus Manoutius, including those published after Aldus' death by his descendants, up to the middle of the 16th century: Aristotle (1497 and 1498), various commentaries on the philosopher, Aristophanes (1498), Aesop, Xenophon, Lucian, Demosthenes, Pausanias, Plutarch, Galenus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, the grammars of Th.Gazis and Konstantinos Laskaris, the Lexicon of Souidas, and others. A separate category is formed by the publications, both incunabula and early editions, in which there was Greek collaboration. In addition to the 'Anthology' and the 'Argonautica', Ianos Laskaris published an edition of Sophocles in Rome, in 1518; Markos Mousouros one of Aristophanes (at the press of Aldus, 1498) and one of Pausanias (Aldus, 1516); and Dimitrios Chalkokondylis one of the lexicon of Souidas (Milan, 1499); Zacharias Kalliergis produced an edition of Pindar (1515) and the Lexicon of Guarinus Favorinus (1523) on his own press in Rome. The Library possesses examples of

printing from the majority of the Western printers of the 16th and 17th centuries who dealt with Greek books (ancient authors, the Holy Scripture, ecclesiastical texts): the Giunti of Florence, Da Sabio, Zanetti, Spinelli, Pinelli and Giuliani of Venice, Robert and Henry Estienne of Paris and Geneva, and Elzevier of Amsterdam, as well as works from other presses in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and England, such as those of Cologne, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Basle, Zurich, Antwerp, and London.

If the publications by the exponents of Western literary and religious humanism are well-represented in the Monastery Library, the examples of foreign books are rare, especially from the fields of literature, world history and science: an edition of Boileau, of the 'Henriade' of Voltaire, of Metastasio, Goldoni, of the 'Aventures de Télémache' by Fénelon, the works of Galileo, and a number of 18th century Russian books (prose, theatre and language). This kind of book was clearly not in keeping with the monastic ideal; their presence in the Library, however, indicates the development of new interests in later times, mainly by those involved in teaching. Despite the chronological gaps, the Monastery's collection of printed books illustrates the entire history of Greek printing and publications during the following centuries (17th to 19th), in the centres of the Greek diaspora, Venice, Vienna, Moscow etc. (the presses of N.Sarros, N.Glykis, A.Vortolis, D. and P.Theodosiou, G.Vendotis etc.), in certain Greek centres under Ottoman domination, such as Constantinople (Patriarchal press), and also in cities like Bucharest, Jassy and Moschopolis. Through their books, the teachers of the Patmian School made their own contribution to this mobility and dissemination of education and the strengthening of the religious beliefs of the Greek populations. Makarios Kaloyeras and Gerasimos Byzantios did not have the opportunity to see their lectures at the School and their religious teaching in print during their lifetime; these were published later by their pupils (fig. 25). By contrast, the handbooks of grammar by Daniel Kerameus saw the light of day while he was still teaching (fig. 24).

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE USE OF THE BOOKS

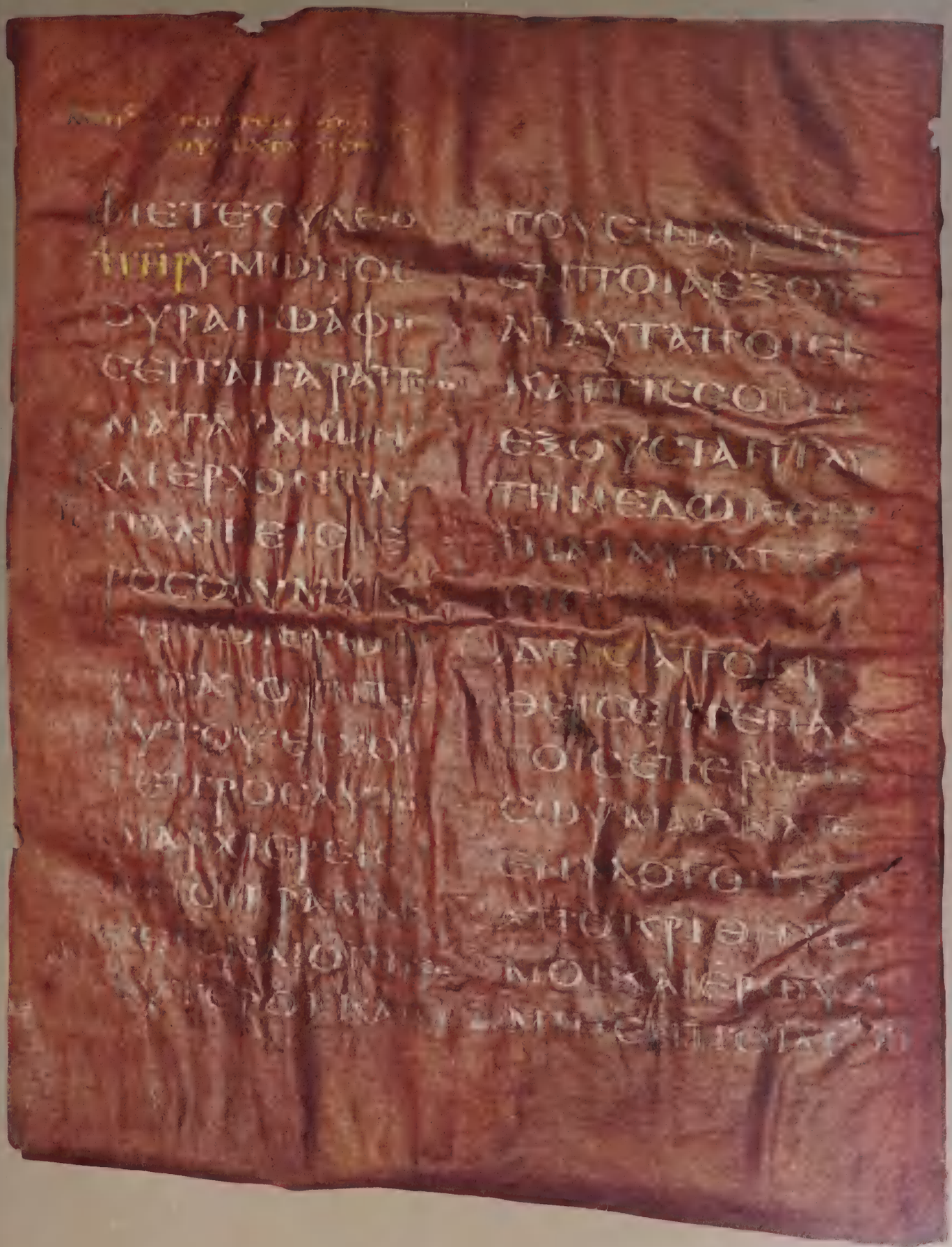
The importance of the Library of printed books, however, lies rather in the fact that they constitute incontrovertible evidence for the intellectual life of a small island in the eastern Aegean from the 17th century onwards, and for its exponents, the book-owners and readers. The books reveal their choices of reading matter and the needs that dictated them, the ways and means by which they acquired books and used them not only as tools of learning or for purposes of worship or religious instruction, but also as places in which to store information about every-day life, the degree of care they took to preserve them, and so on.

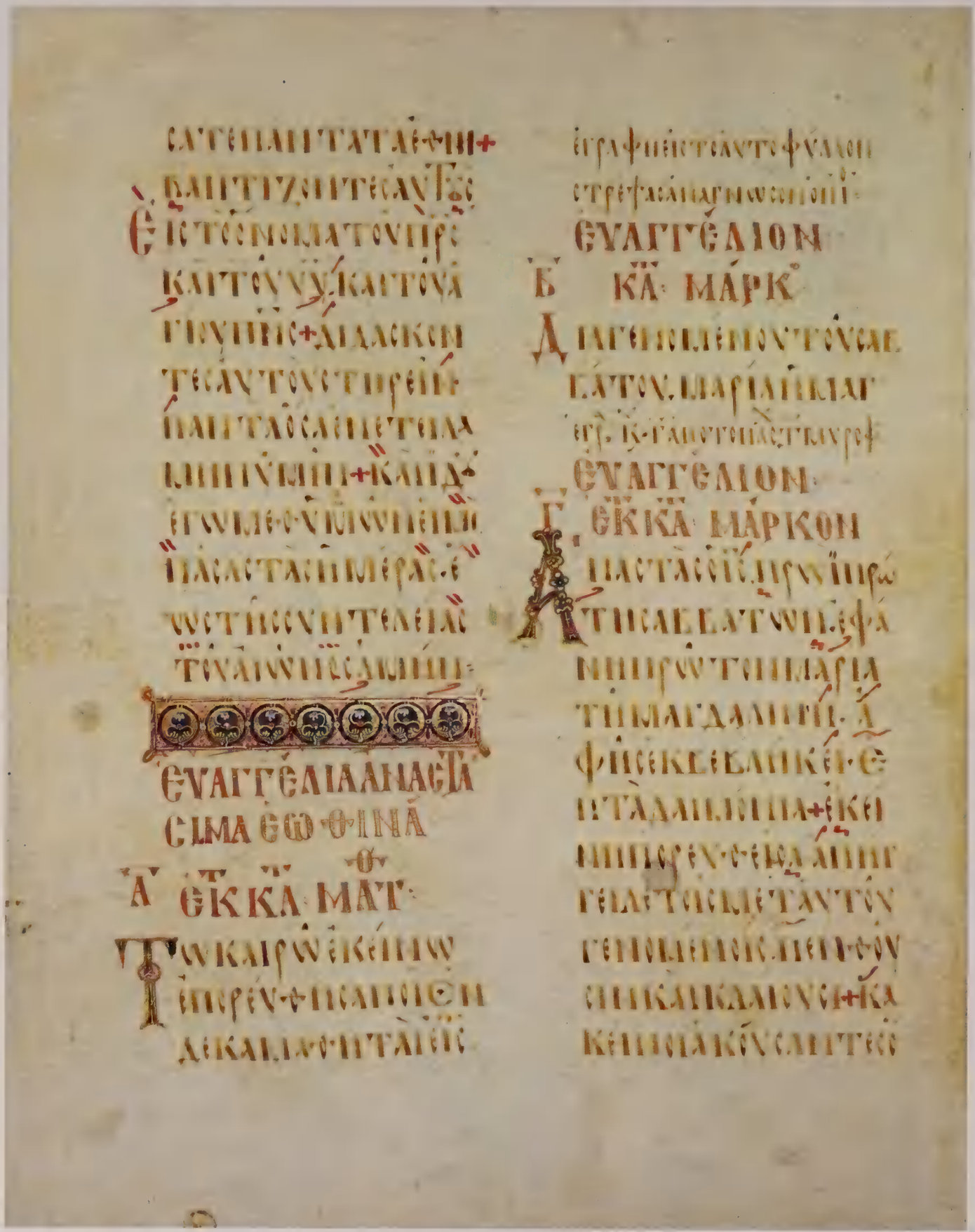
The majority of the books in question fulfilled their purpose: they were read. The reading has sometimes left a tangible imprint on their pages: notes, commentary, underlinings, references. In the cases of books owned by teachers, the notes confirm the depth of their knowledge of the ancient world (fig. 22). The relation of the owner to the book is indicated according to the custom of the period, by an inscription of personal ownership; occasionally attempts are made to protect this ownership by invoking divine vengeance on any would-be appropriaters of their own or the Monastery's property: '(the property of) Nikephoros, the monk, Chartophylax', runs the unembellished inscription written by the founder of the educational movement on Patmos in an edition of Chrysostomos of 1603 (fig. 26). A single copy of a book often has the names of successive owners attesting to its historical fortunes over time. It will have been passed from owner to owner, the details frequently lost. 'For the use of Korydaleus and his friends', 'Now for the use of Leontios the monk and his friends, 1695'; 'and now (the property of) Gerasimos Byzantios from Psomatheia': three of the

known owners of a book on geography of 1539, within the course of about a century (fig. 23). The edition of the 'Poems of Homer', printed in Basle in 1541, is an interesting case. It had eleven successive owners. The earlier inscriptions of ownership are those of westerners and members of the Greek intelligentsia active mainly in Italy, Constantinople and the Danubian Principalities from the 16th century onwards: Lilius Gyraldus, Andrea Gallo, Theophilos Korydaleus, Nikolaos Sofianos, Frangiskos Kokkos, Gabriel Severus, Michael Krallis, Konstantinos Kantakouzenos, Neophytos Bishop of Arta, Dimitrios Katargi, etc. These owner's inscriptions thus confirm that the island of Patmos had relations with the regions in which they were active.

Sometimes other useful information is added, such as the manner, year and place in which the book was acquired (purchase, donation, exchange); in the cases of works that were presented to the Monastery, the presentation itself is recorded: 'From (the books of) the sacred monastery of Saint John the Theologian on the island of Patmos, from a dedication by the blessed Kyrillos Katelanakis of Patmos, deacon, together with 300 more volumes' (Chronicle of Ioannis Zonaras, Paris 1686). These notes also furnish material that enable us to see certain aspects of the way in which the Library operated (book loans, etc.) and the concern shown for their maintenance: printed books will undoubtedly have been taken for binding or repair to the workshops in which manuscripts were bound (despite this, a number of books has suffered from mistreatment over the centuries). Another category of notes makes the printed books a valuable source for contemporary history. Their owners used to record in them – a common habit in the period of Turkish rule – any information that was of significance: personal, family and social reminders, notes of wars, and other events; or converted them into handy account books. The source material scattered throughout the pages of the books should undoubtedly form part of the basis for the history of the Monastery Library, and that of the island in general.

1. Gospel book. Purple codex 67 (fol. 22^{v}). Majuscule biblical script. 6th century.





ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤ

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
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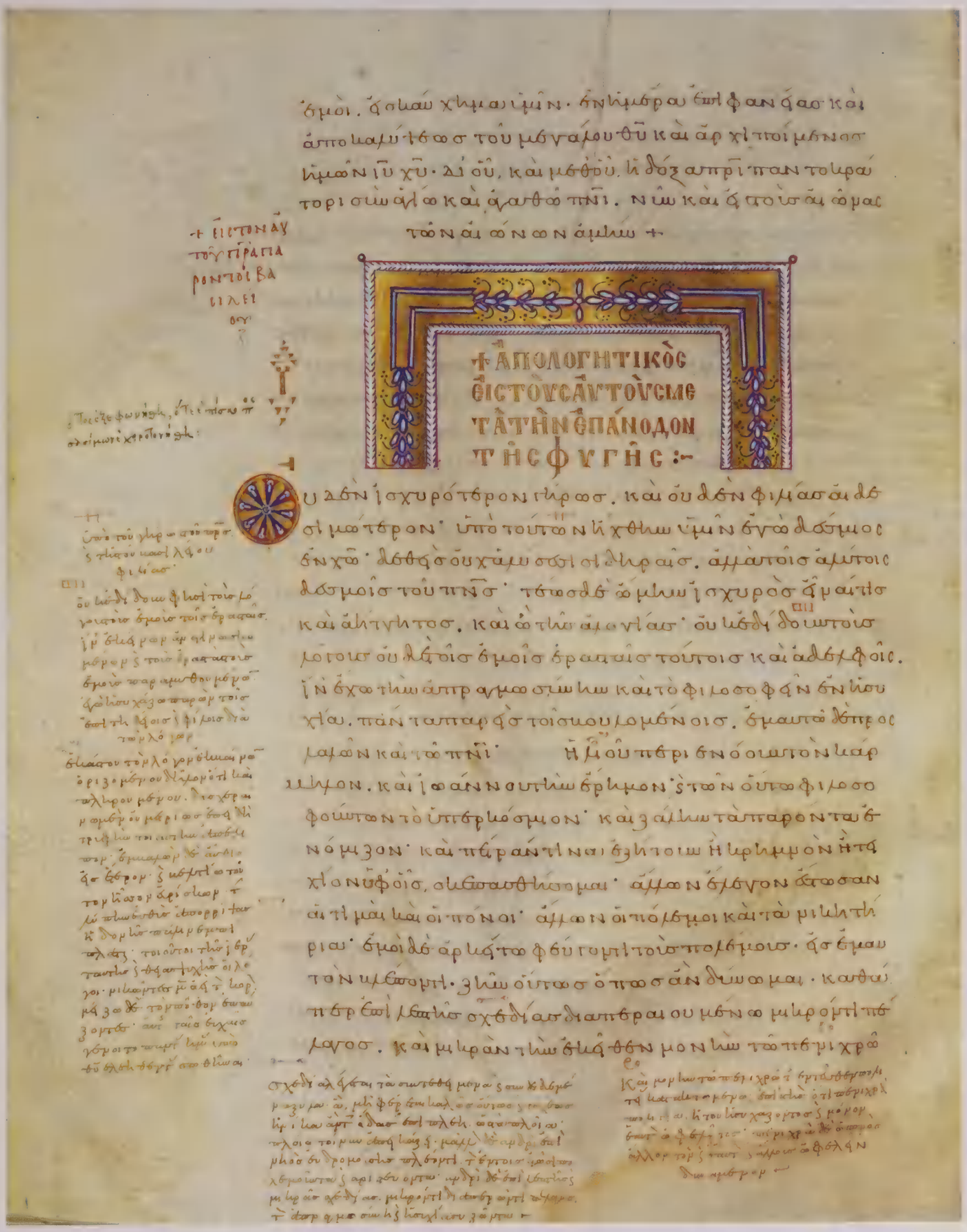
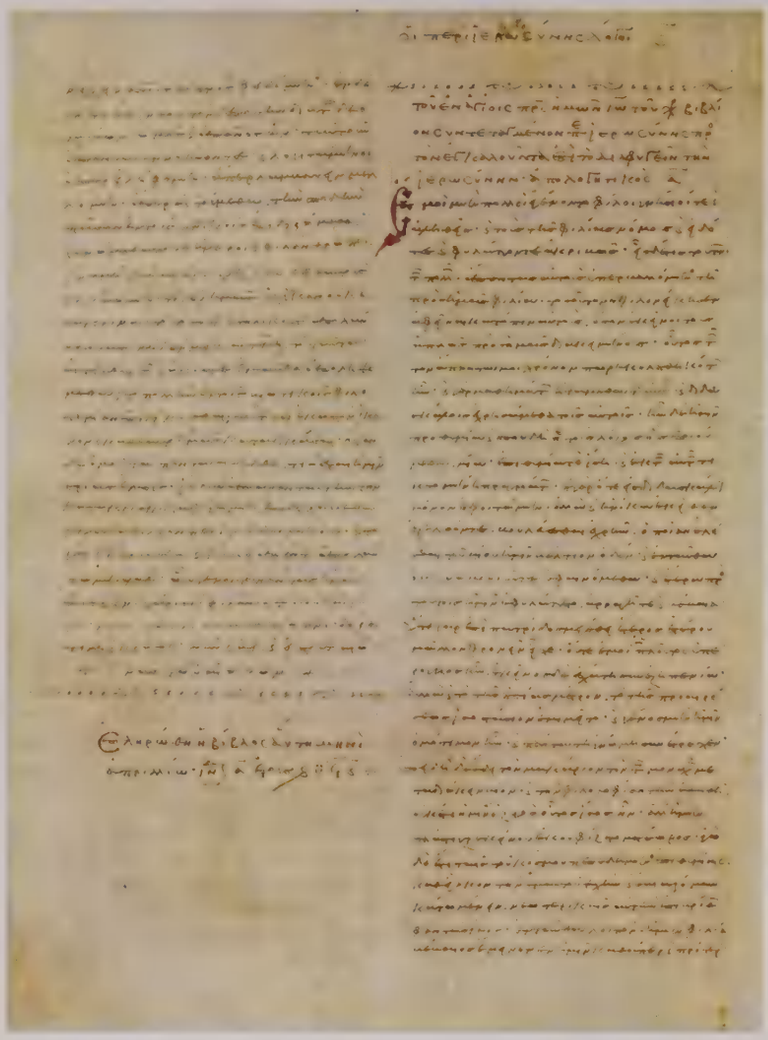
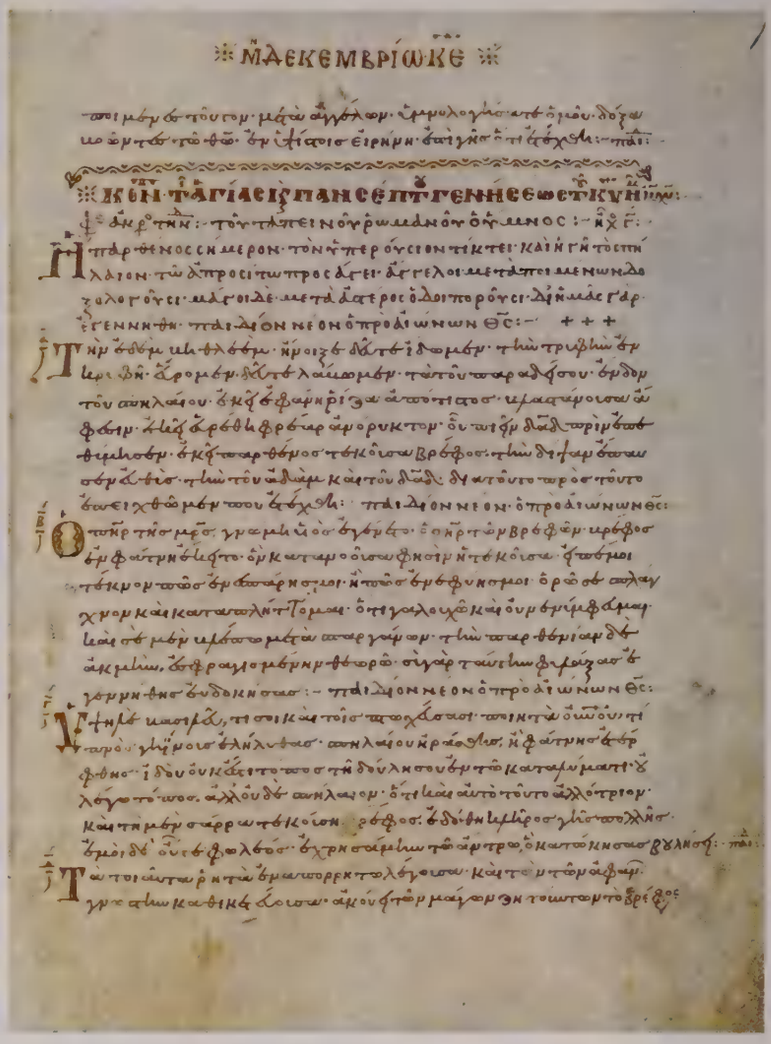
2. Gospel Lectionary (codex 69, fol. 138^{v}). Majuscule script (uncial). 9th century.



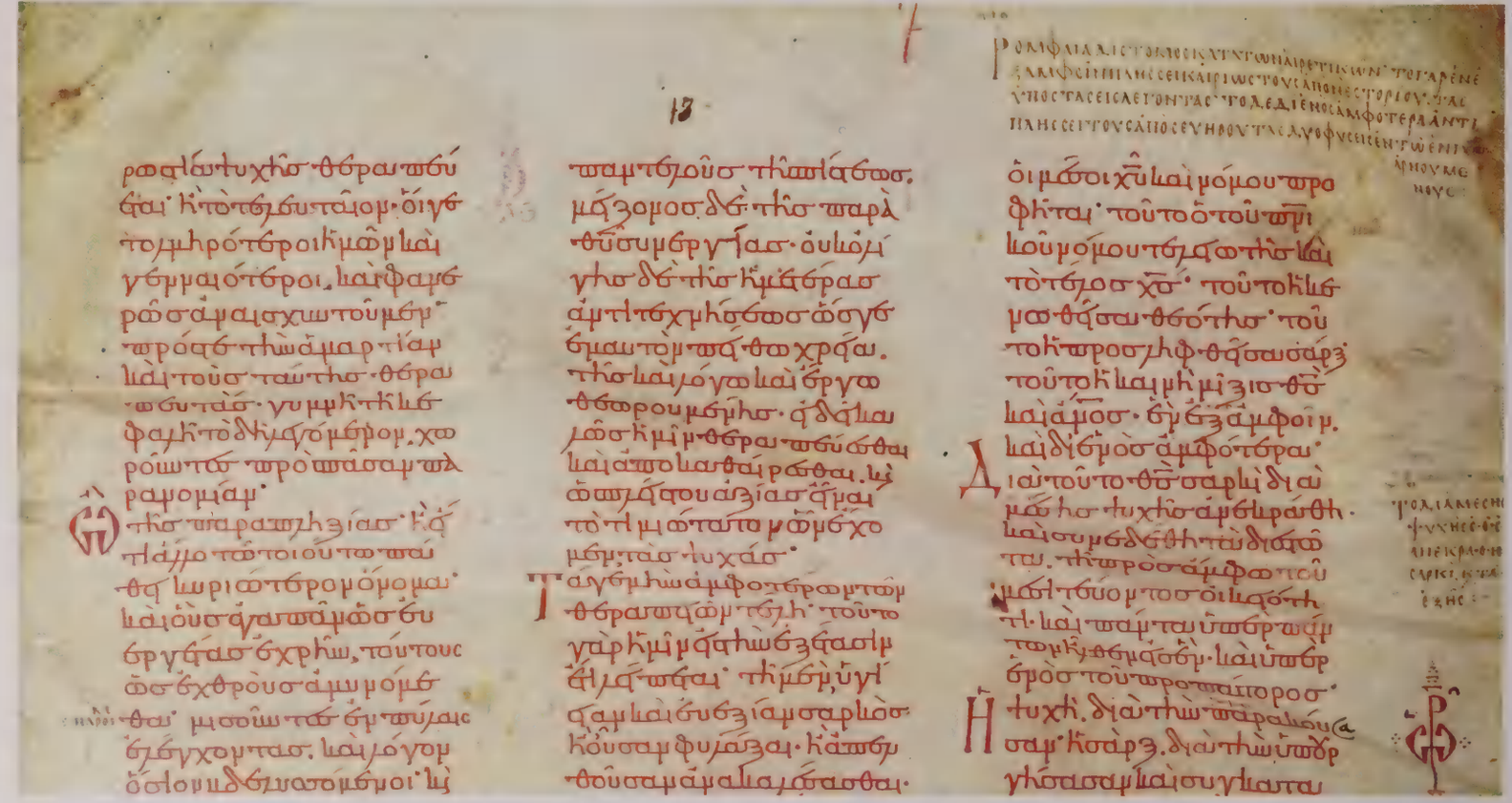
3. The Homilies of Gregory the Theologian (codex 40, fol. 71^{v}). Minuscule script with commentary in the margins. 10th-11th centuries.

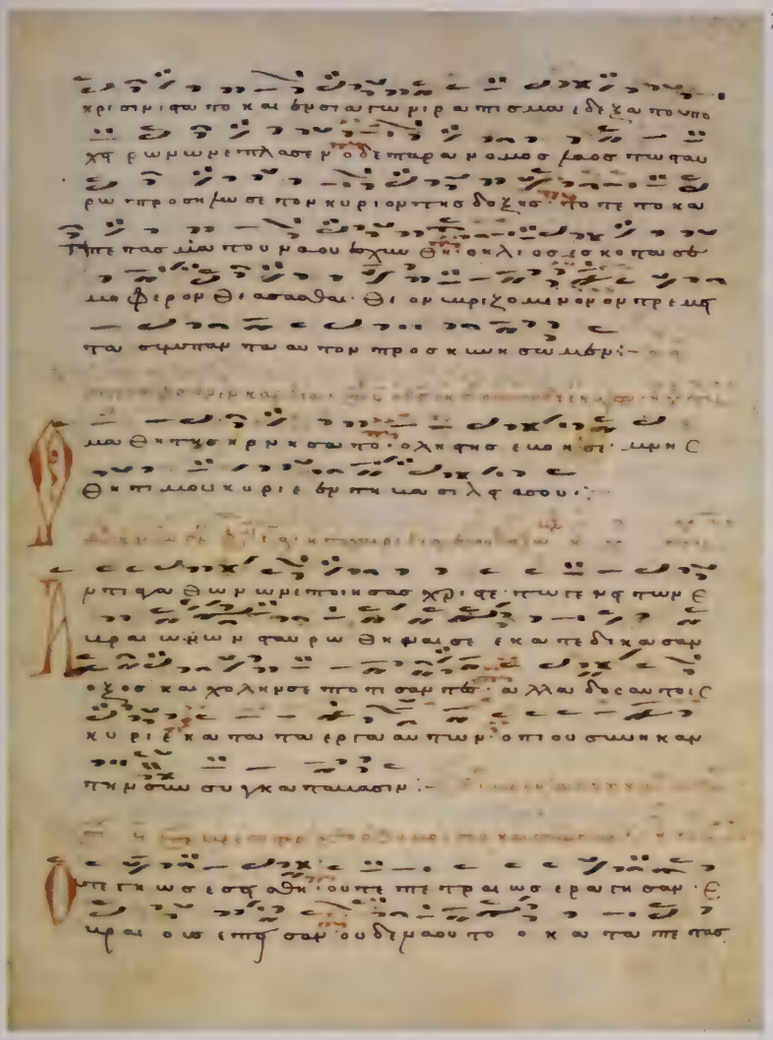


4. The Homilies of John Chrysostomos (codex 138, fol. 143ᵛ). Small minuscule script. 988.

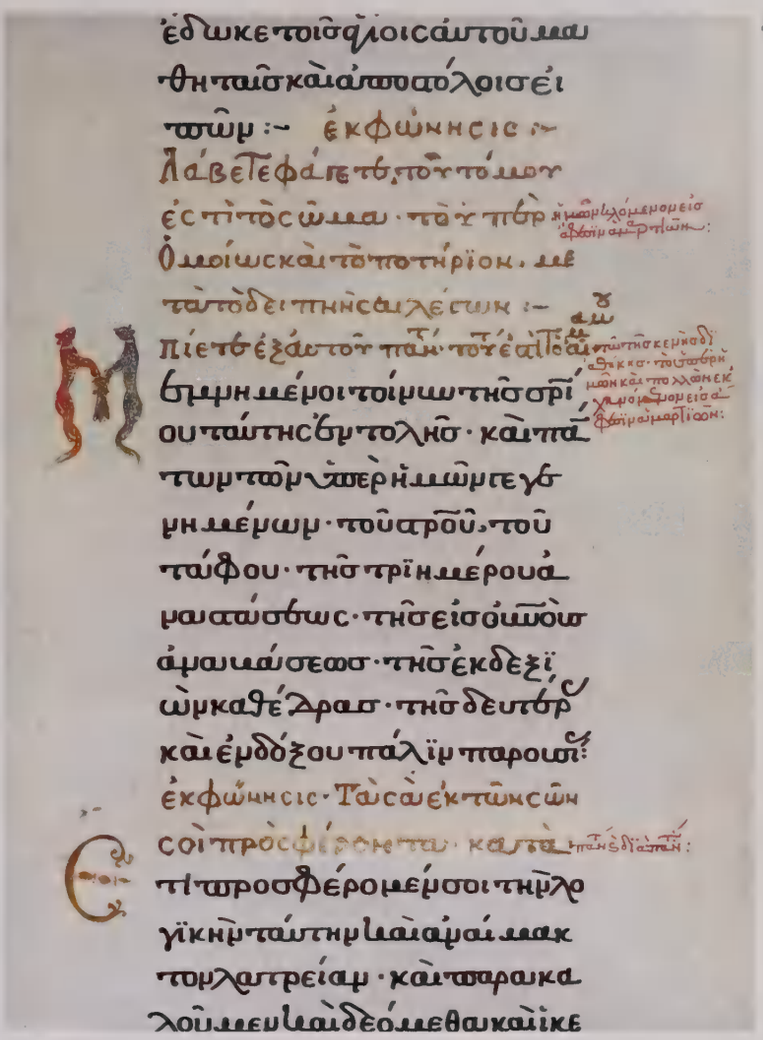


5. Hymns by Romanos the Melodist (codex 212, fol. 121). Minuscule script. 11th century.





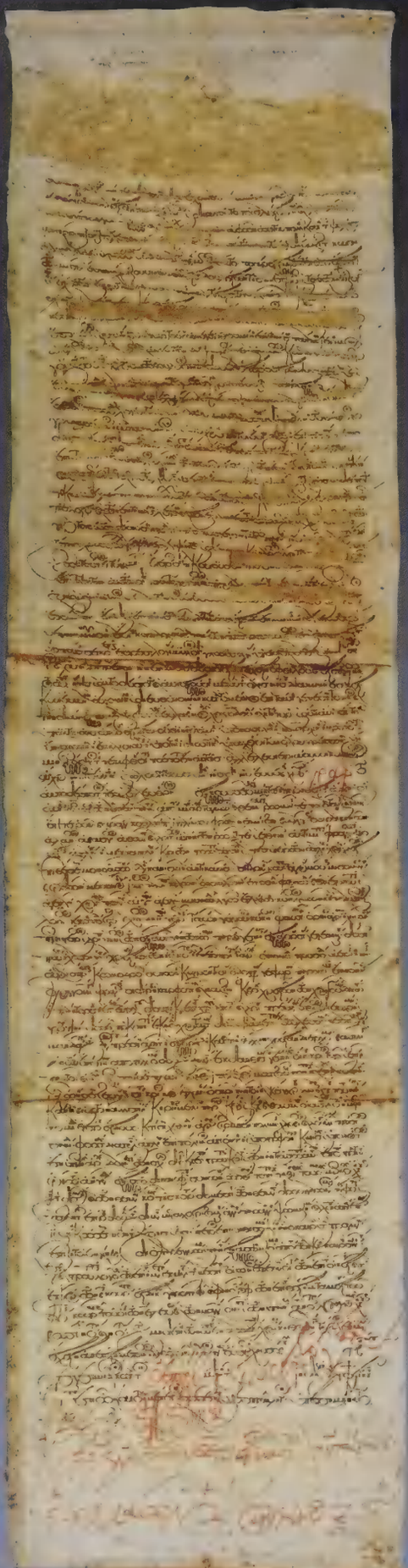
7. Manuscript with hymns (stichirarion) (codex 222, fol. 254). Text in a minuscule script, and an early form of musical notation. 12th century.



8. Liturgy of Chrysostomos (scroll 720, leaf 10). Minuscule script. 15th century.

6. The Homilies of Gregory the Theologian (codex 33, fol. 7). Minuscule script in three columns, with commentary in a majuscule script. (Detail). 941.

9



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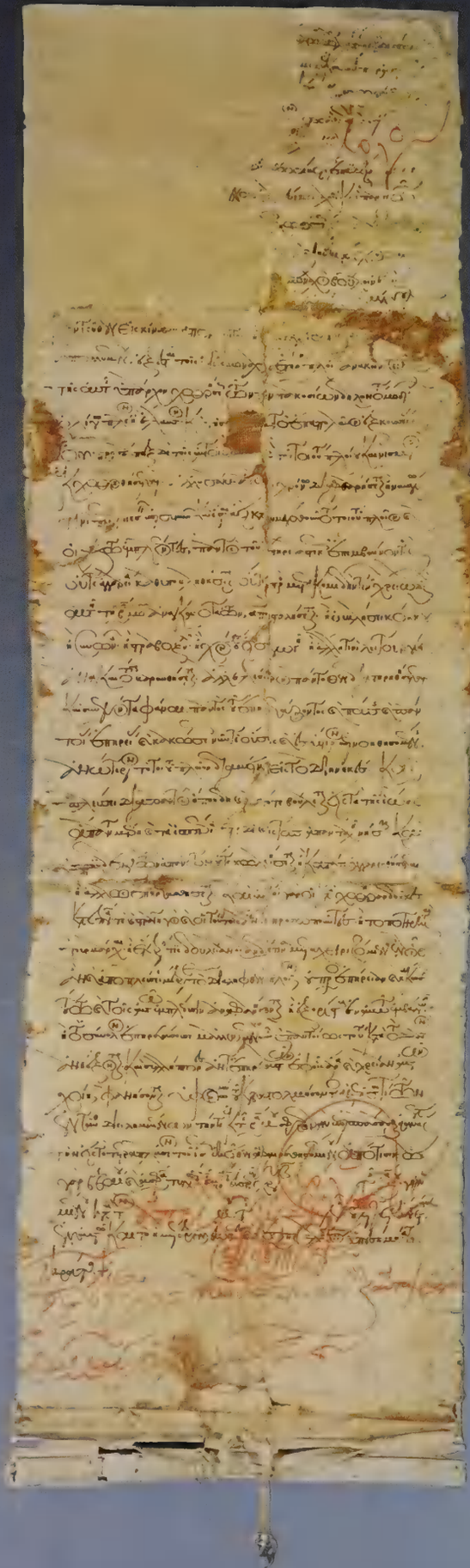
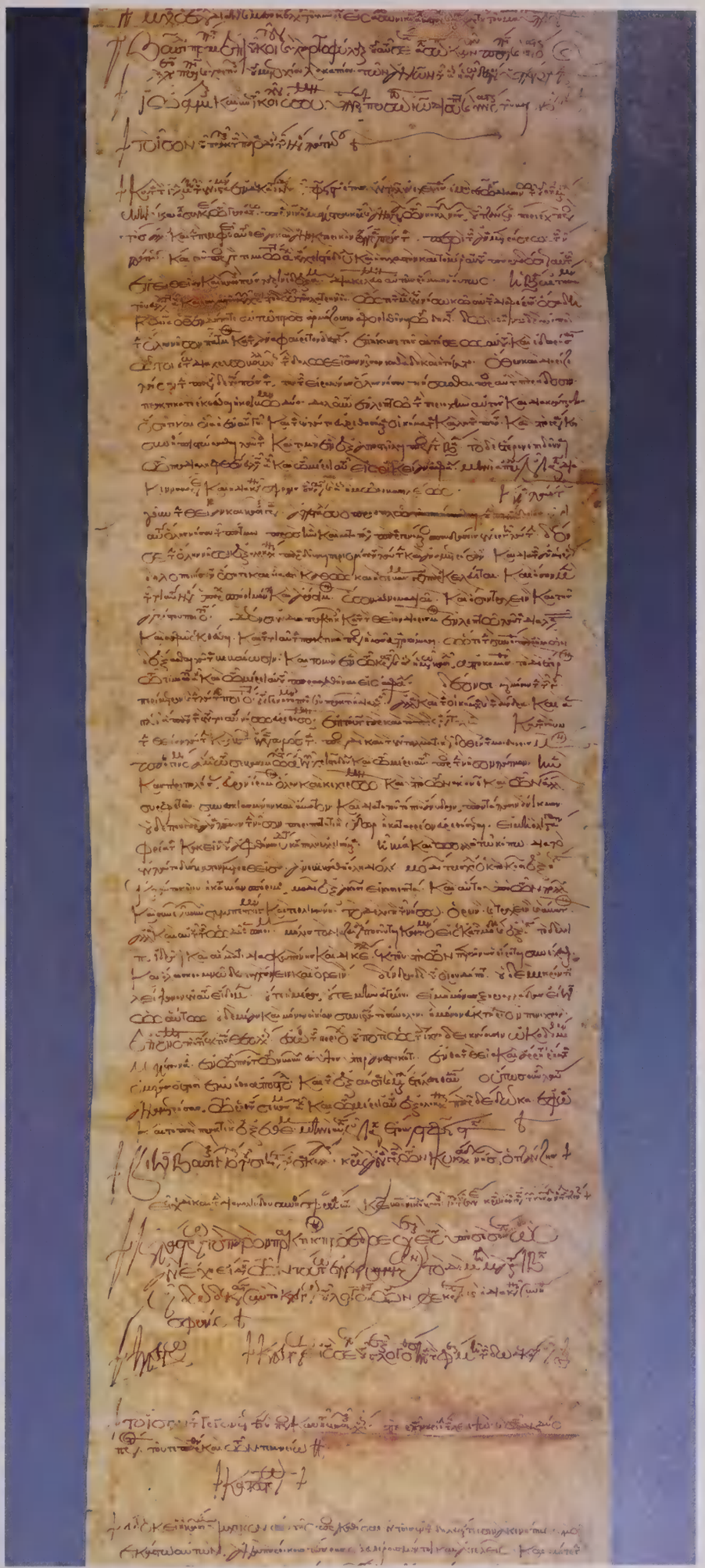
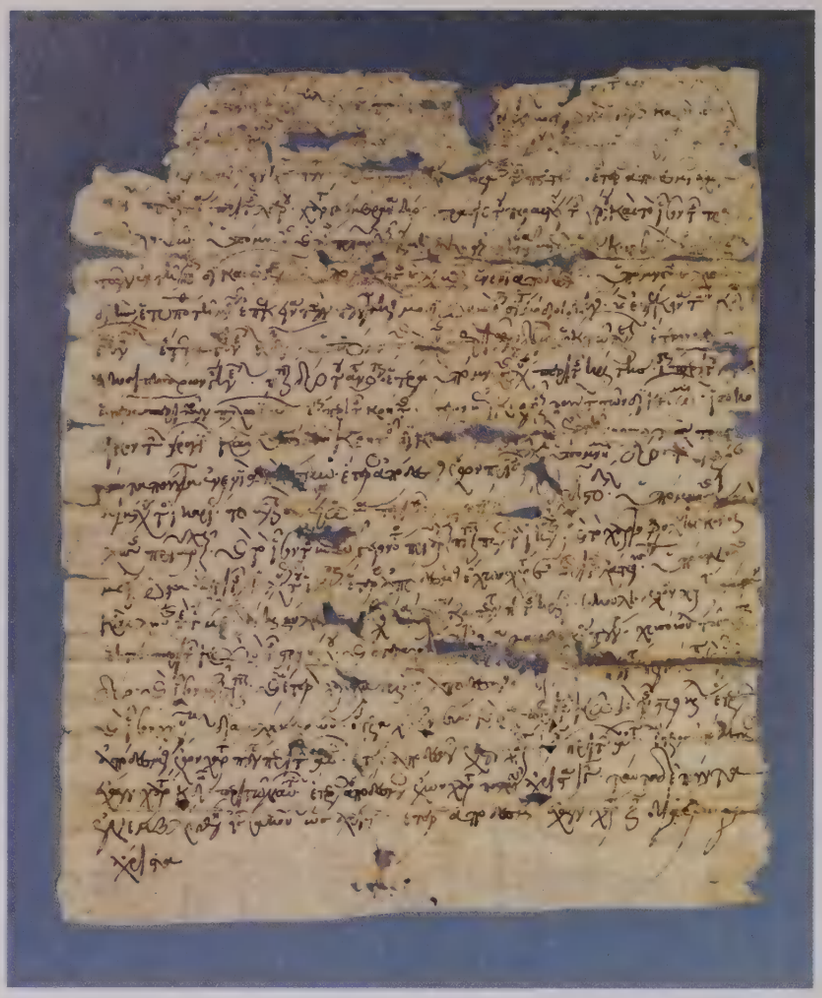


9. The chrysobull of Alexios I Comnenos, providing for the founding of the Monastery. The emperor's signature, in cinnabar, is at the bottom. April 1088.

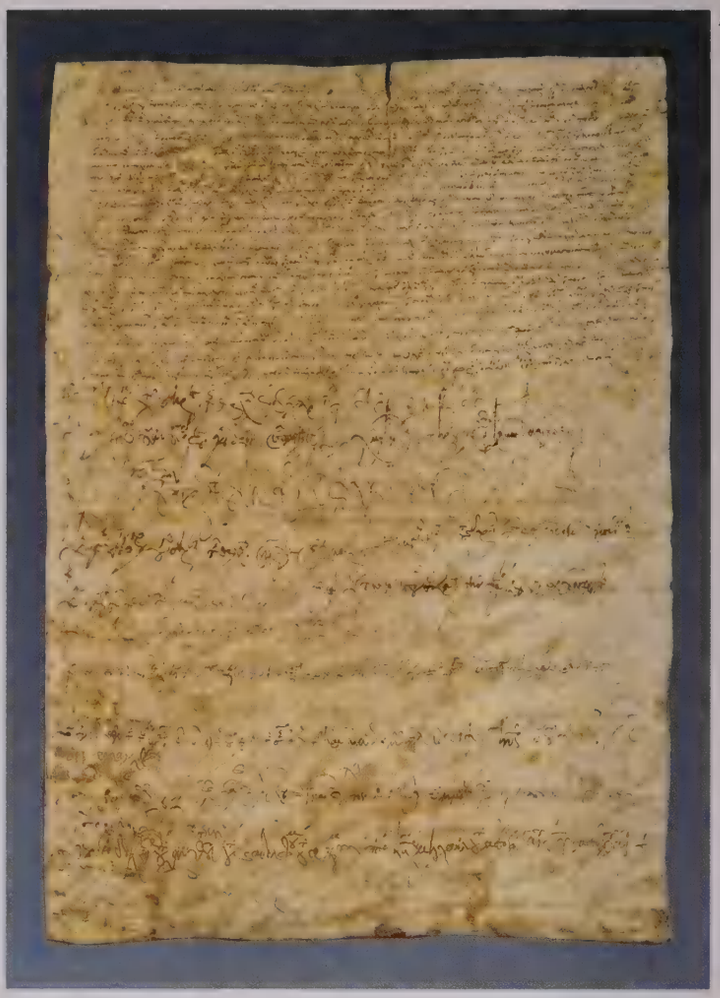
10. Chrysobull of Alexios I Comnenos. The golden seal of the emperor is preserved. April 1088.

11. The enactment handing over the island of Patmos. Scroll. August 1088.

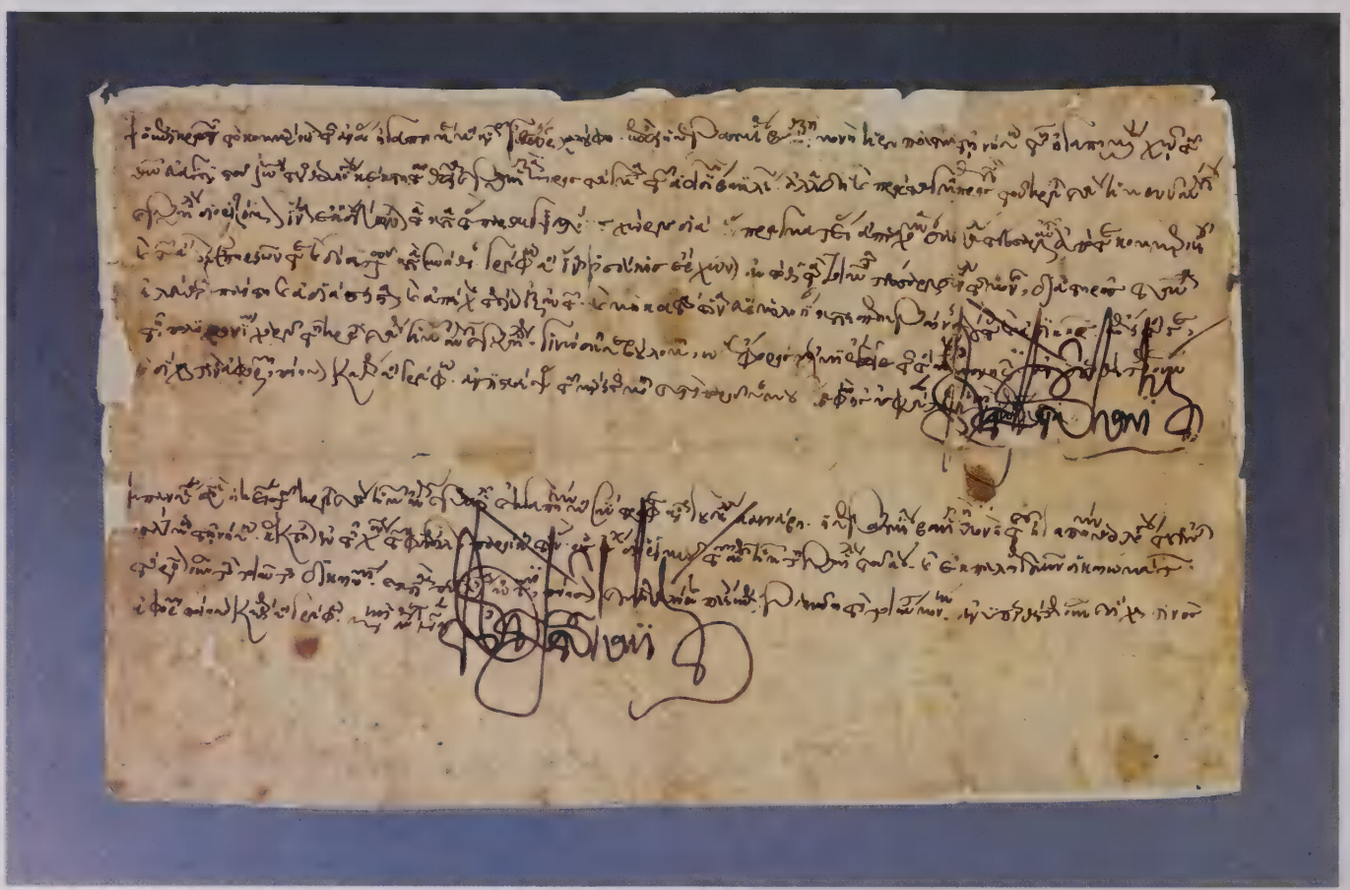




12. Register of the Monastery's documents. End of the 12th – beginning of the 13th centuries.



13. Enactment of the Secretary of the Sea. October [1195].



14

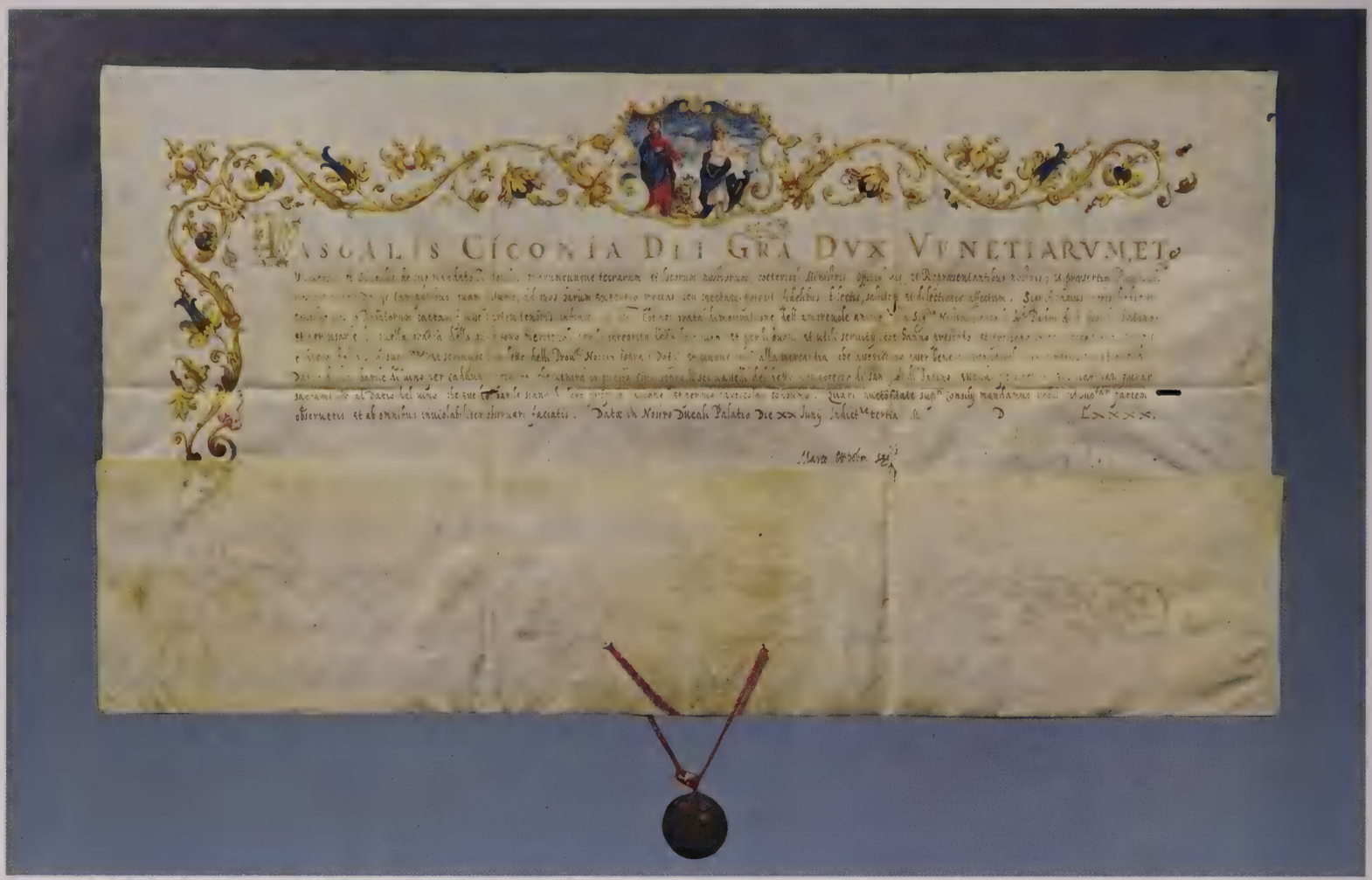
15-16. Lead seal of the 'protovestiaritis' Georgios Zagarommatis. 1251.

15

16

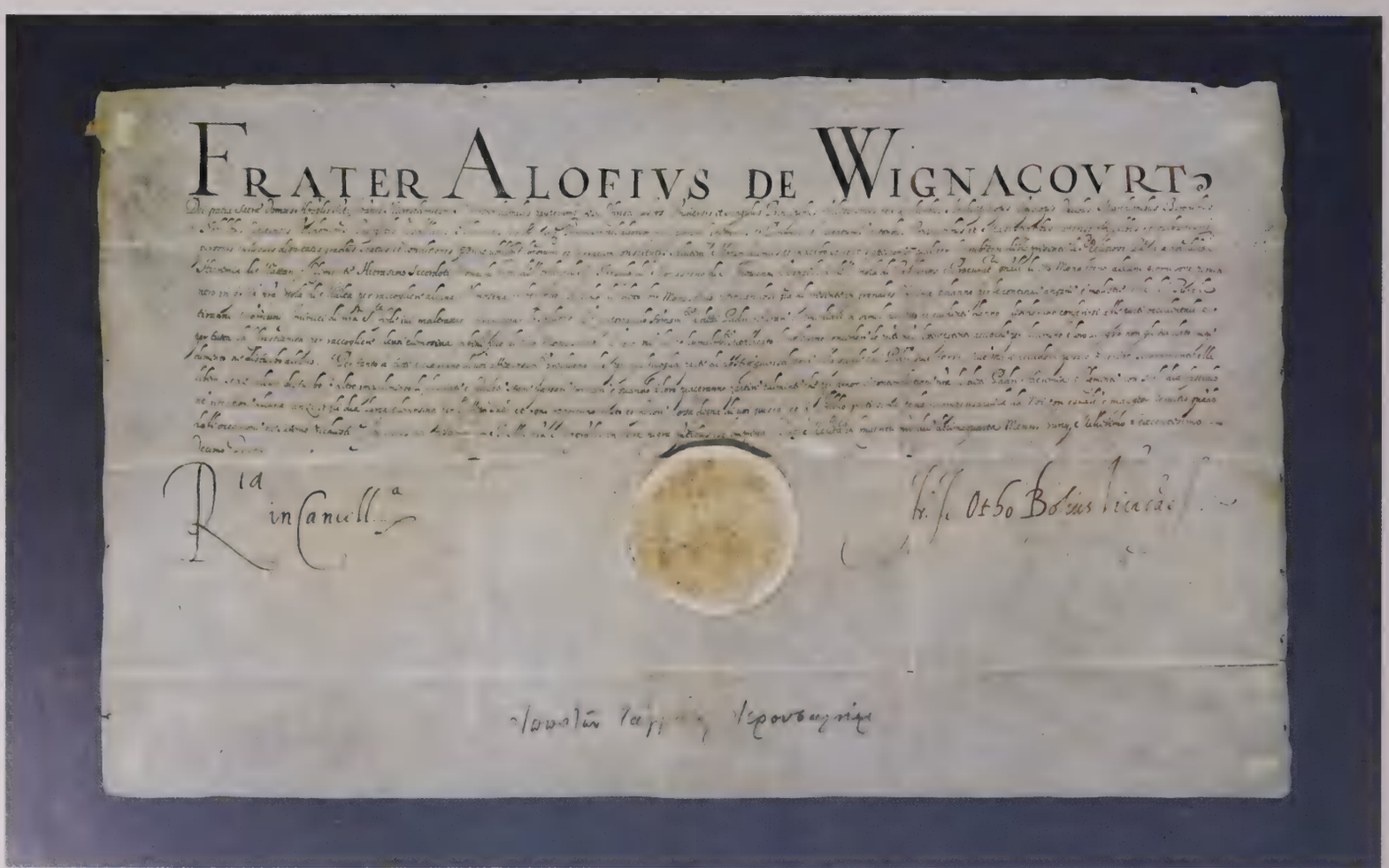
14. Two scripts by the official 'in charge of the imperial ink-pot'. August [1273].

17



PASCALIS CICONIA DEI GRA DUX VENETIARUM ET

18



FRATER ALOFIVS DE WIGNACOVRT

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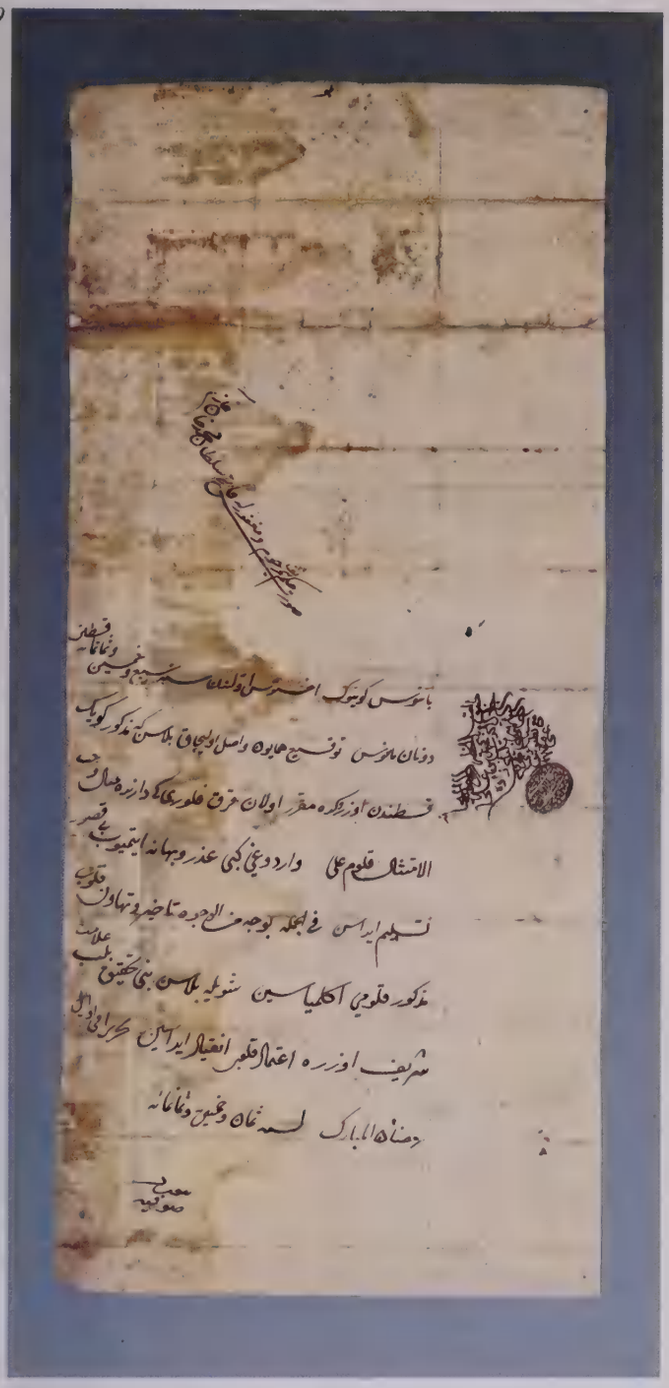

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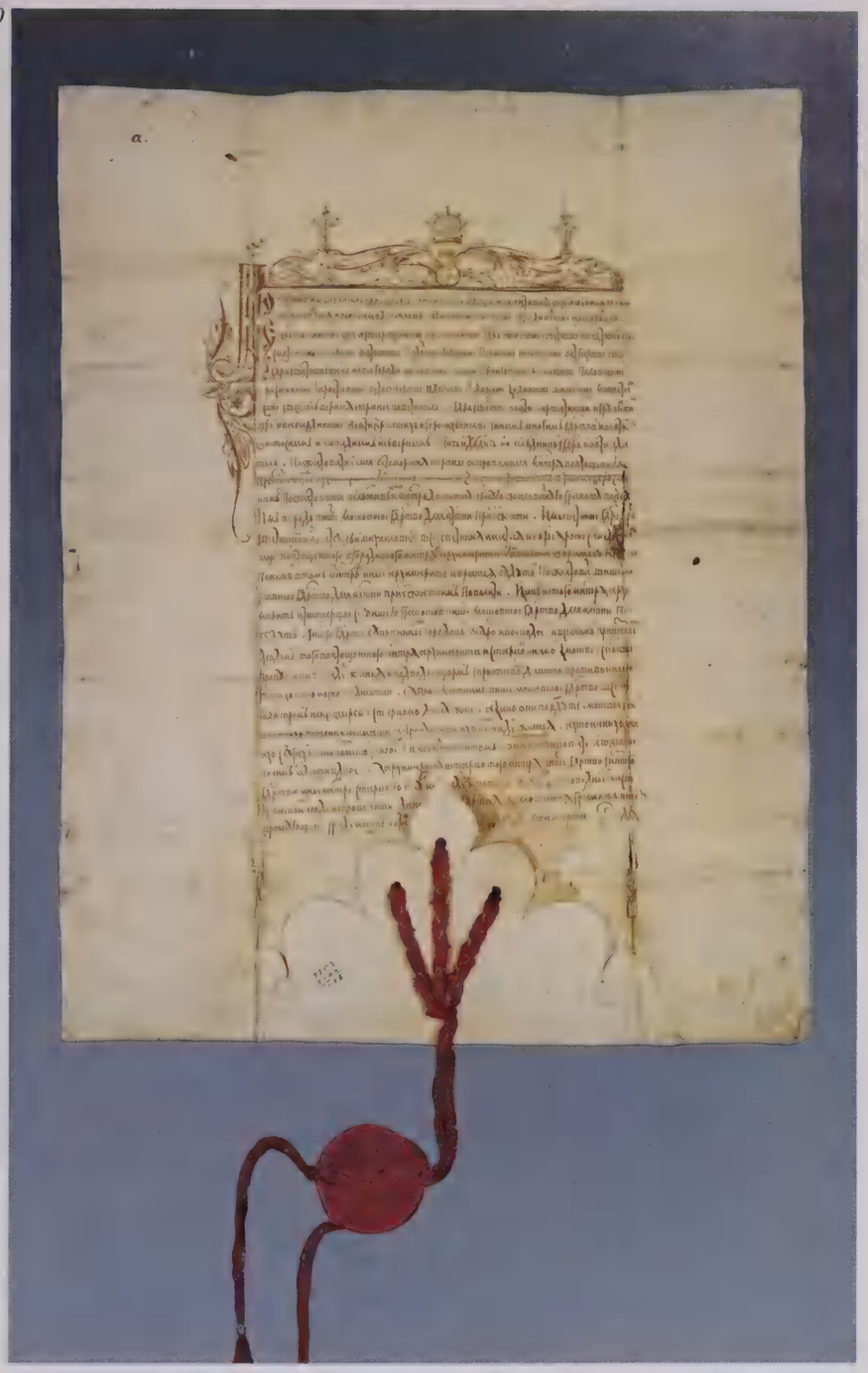


19. Copy of a firman issued by Mehmed II the Conqueror. 1454.

20. Letter from the Tsar Alexios Michailovic. 1656.

17. Document granting privileges, issued by the Doge of Venice Pasqual Cicogna. 20 June 1590.

18. Document issued by the Grand Master Alofius de Wignacourt. 14 June 1613.

ΕΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ.

Εις εἰκόνα Γαβριήλου ὑπάρχου. Λεοντίου.

Καὶ φαέθων γραφίδεσσιν ἔχει
τύπον. ἀλλὰ χαράσσει
ἠέλιον τέχνη, κρυπτο-
μένων φαέων.

Καὶ σὲ ζοφερὴ πτολίαρχε γράφει γαβριήλιε τέχνη,
ἐκτὸς ζωῆς ἀρετῶν. ἐκτὸς ὅλων καμάτων.

Θεαιτήτου.

Τοῦτον ἰουλιανὸν νομικῆς φάος, εἶδον ἰδοῦσαι
ῥώμη καὶ βερόη. πάντα φύσις δύναται.

Εις εἰκόνα Καλλινίκου. Λεοντίου.

Κάλλει μὲν νικᾷς καρδίης τόσον, ὅσσον ὀπωρῆς.
τῆς γὰρ ἐπωνυμίης ἄξια πάντα φέρεις.
ἀιεὶ δὲν θαλάμοισι κατευνάζων βασιλῆα,
πᾶσαν ὑποσπείρεις οὐασι μειλιχίην.

Θεοδωρίτου.

Εκ φιλαδελφείης ξεινήϊα ταῦτα φιλίρπωι.
φράζεο πῶς. μνήμων ἡ πόλις εὐνομίης.

Ἀδέσποτον.

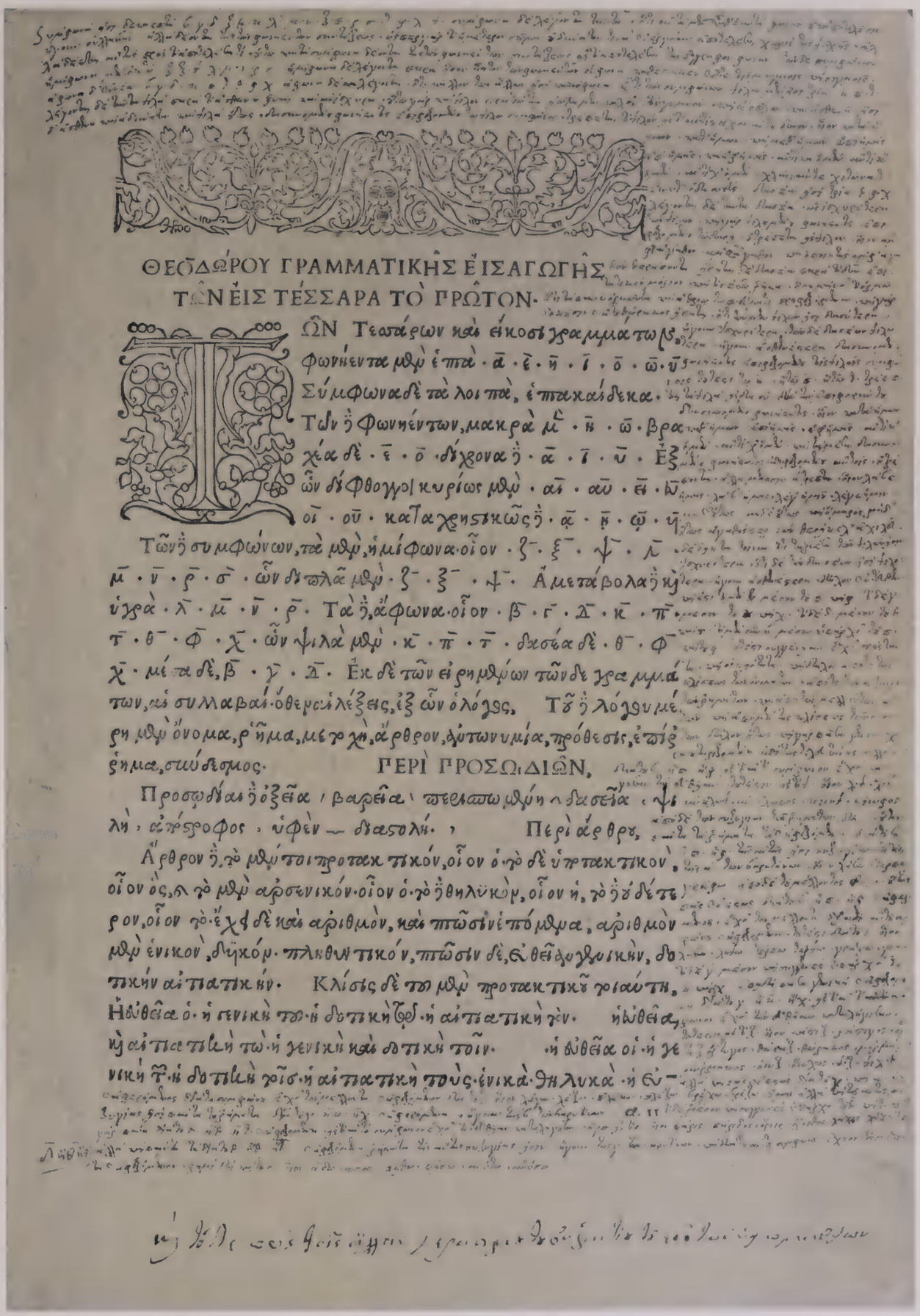
Μνήμονες οἱ κᾶρες πολέων εὐεργεσιάων.
παλμάτων ἰουδίκην τόσσον ἀγασάμενοι.

Εις εἰκόνα τινὸς σοφιστοῦ. Αγαθίου.

Τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ μύθων τε καὶ εὐτροχάλοιο μελίσσης
εἰκόνας, ἰλήκοις δηρὸν ὀφειλόμενος.
νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ ἰδρώτων τε καὶ ἀστυόχοιο μερίμνης
τῇδε σε τῇι γραφίδι στήσαμεν ἡρακλάμον.
ὀλίγον τὸ γέρας, μὴ μέμφεο. τοῖσδε γὰρ ἡμεῖς

21. 'Anthology of various epigrams', with painted initials and commentary on the manuscript. Florence 1494.

22



ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗΣ
ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΤΟ ΡΡΩΤΟΝ·

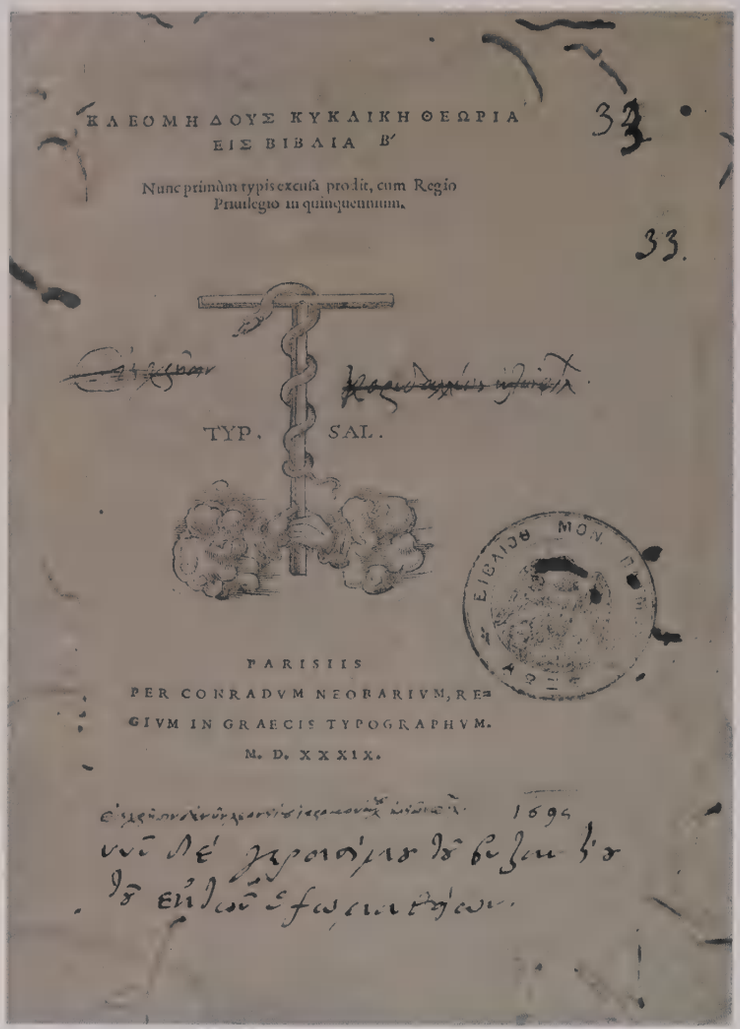
ΩΝ Τεσσάρων καὶ εἰκοσι γραμματων,
φωνήεντα μὲν εἰσὶ τὰ · α · ε · η · ι · ο · ω · υ ·
Σύμφωνα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ, εἰσὶ καὶ δεκα ·
Τῶν δὲ φωνηέντων, μακρὰ μέν · η · ω · βρα
χέα δὲ · ε · ο · δίχρονα δὲ · α · ι · υ · Ἐξ
ὧν δίφθογγοι κυρίως μὲν · αι · αυ · ει · ωυ ·
οι · ου · καταχρηστικῶς δὲ · α · η · ω · υ ·
Τῶν δὲ συμφώνων, τὰ μὲν, ἡμίφωνα · οἷον · ζ · ξ · ψ · λ ·
μ · ν · ρ · σ · ὧν δὲ πάλιν μὲν · ζ · ξ · ψ · Ἀμετάβολα δὲ ἐστὶ
τὰ λοιπὰ · λ · μ · ν · ρ · Τὰ δὲ, ἄφωνα · οἷον · β · γ · δ · κ · π ·
τ · θ · φ · χ · ὧν ψιλὰ μὲν · κ · π · τ · δασέα δὲ · θ · φ ·
χ · μέσα δὲ, β · γ · δ · Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τῶνδε γραμμά
των, αἱ συλλαβαί · θεωρεῖσθαι δέξεις, ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόγος, Τοῦ δὲ λόγου μέ
ρη μέν ὄνομα, ῥῆμα, μετοχὴ, ἄρθρον, ἀντωνυμία, πρόθεσις, ἐπίρ
ρημα, σύνδεσμος· ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΣΩΔΙΩΝ,

Προσῳδίαι δὲ ὀξεῖα, βαρεῖα, περισπωμένη δασεῖα, ψι
λὴ, ἀπόστροφος, ὑφὲν — διαστολὴ, Περὶ ἄρθρου,

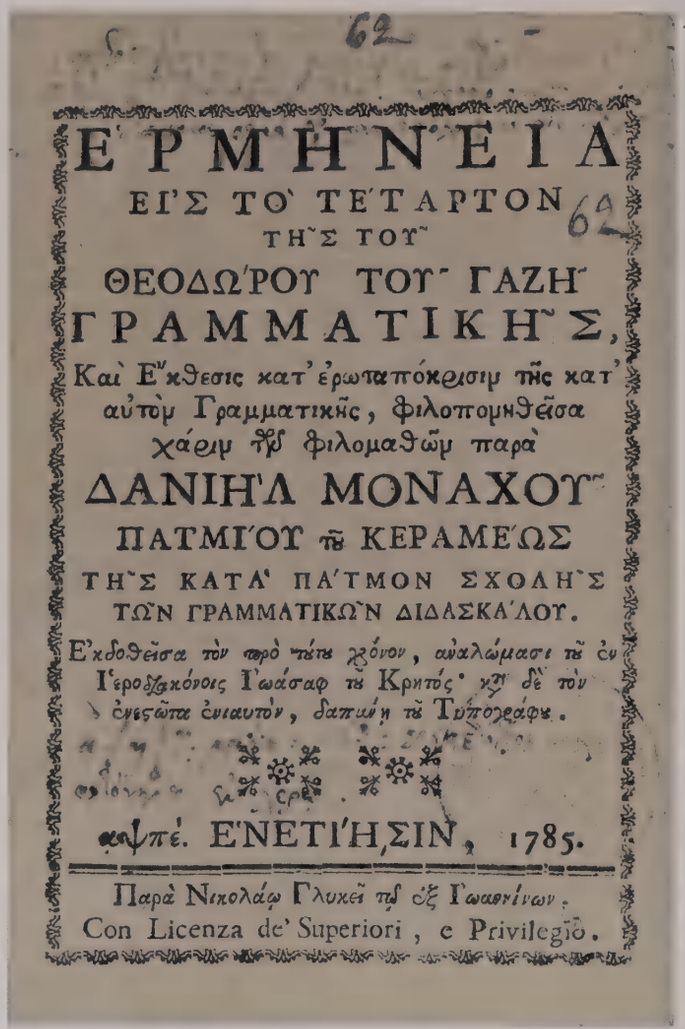
Ἄρθρον δὲ, τὸ μὲν προτακτικόν, οἷον ὁ · ἡ · τὸ δὲ ὑποτακτικὸν,
οἷον ὅς, ἥ · τὸ μὲν ἀρσενικόν · οἷον ὁ · ἡ · θηλυκὸν, οἷον ἡ, τὸ δὲ οὐδέτε
ρον, οἷον τὸ · ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἀριθμοὺς, καὶ πτώσεις πόσα, ἀριθμοὺς
μὲν ἑνικοὺς, δύο · πληθυντικόν, πτώσεις δὲ, ἑπτὰ ὀνομαστικὴν, δο
τικὴν αἰτιατικήν· Κλίσις δὲ τοῦ μὲν προτακτικοῦ τοιαύτη,
Ἡ εἶα ὁ · ἡ γενικὴ τοῦ · ἡ δοτικὴ τῷ · ἡ αἰτιατικὴ τὴν · ἡ εἶα,
ἡ αἰτιατικὴ τὼ · ἡ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ τοῖν · ἡ εἶα οἱ · ἡ γε
νικὴ τῶν · ἡ δοτικὴ τοῖς · ἡ αἰτιατικὴ τοὺς · ἑνικὰ · θηλυκὰ · ἡ εὖ —

22. 'Grammatical Introduction' by Theodoros Gazis. Commentary and owner's inscription at the bottom of the page: Gerasimos of Byzantium. Aldos Manoutios, 1495.

23



24



25

23. 'The Cyclical Theory of Cleomedes'. Owner's inscriptions, in the order: Theophilos Korydaleus, Leontios the monk, and Gerasimos of Byzantium. Paris 1539.

24. Interpretation of the fourth book of Gazis' Grammar, by Daniel Kerameus. Venice 1785.

25. 'Evangelical Trumpet', by Makarios Kaloyeras. Owner's inscription: Iakovos, monk of Patmos. Leipzig 1765.

26

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕ-
ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝ-
ΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.

S. Patris noſtri
IOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI
ARCHIEPISCOPI CONSTANTINO-
POLITANI
Commentarius in Euangelium ſecundum Ioannem.

In Bibliopolio Commeliniano.

CIↃ IↃ CIII.

26. 'Interpretation of the Gospel according to John', by John Chrysostomos. At the top, the owner's inscription: Nikephoros Chartophylax. [Heidelberg] 1603.

GLOSSARY

accubitum, the semicircular couch on which Romans and Byzantines reclined at dinner-parties

apotropaic, warding off evil

aer, a gold-embroidered liturgical veil used for covering the eucharistic vessels

alms mission, a practice instituted by the Orthodox Church during the period of Turkish rule to enable it to meet its economic needs and obligations.

arcosolium, arched recess for burial in catacombs

argyronima, thread, usualy silk, with two very thin strips of silver or imitation silver foil wound round it, often loosely enough to allow the coloured silk core to show through

artoklasia, the vessel where five breads, oil and wine are placed during the ceremony, bearing the same name, wich takes place on the eve but also on the day of great Feasts

artophorion, the vessel where the eucharistic bread is kept for use in extraordinary circumstances

asteriskos, a star-shaped metal paten-cover

Bema, the sanctuary of a church, where the liturgy is performed.

canon-tables, tables at the beginning of a Gospel book showing in which chapter of each Gospel the same even is described

chiton, loose under-garment fastened on the shoulders and tied around the waist

chrysobull, an imperial decree, granting privileges, written on a parchment scroll, with an attached gold (=chryso) seal from which the decree takes its name

chrysonima, the same as *argyronima* but with gold or gilt foil instead of silver

ciborium, a domed canopy standing above the altar on four columns

cinnabar, the red ink used by the Emperor when signing and dating decrees

cistern, a large tank for storing water

coenobitic monastery, governed according to strict community rules. Coenobitic monks work for the community as a whole and are not allowed personal possessions

Deesis, a representation of Christ with the Blessed Virgin and John the Baptist interceding for the salvation of mankind on either side of Him

Descent into Hell (Anastasis), Resurrection. In Orthodox iconography the Anastasis is often represented by the scene of Christ's Descent into Hell.

diakonikon, an apse or recess at the east end of a church, south of the *Bema*

dikerotrikera, a pair of candlesticks.

Dodekaorton (Twelve Feasts), a set of twelve scenes illustating the most important episodes in the life and death on earth of Christ and his Mother (Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Transfiguration, Dormition of the Virgin); in particular, such a set of icons on the *iconostasis*

Dormition, of the Virgin the death of the Blessed Virgin, corresponding to the Assumption in the West

enkolpium, pectoral medallion, pendentive

endyte, the luxurius veil covering the Holy Table

Entrance, Little, a procession through the *naos* to the altar in the Divine Liturgy, corresponding, to the introit in the westen rite. The Great Entrance is the offertory procession in the Divine Liturgy, in which the bread and wine are brought from the *prothesis* through the *naos* to the altar

epigonation, a lozenge-shaped piece of stiff material, worn suspended at the corner by a ribbon and hanging at the height of the knee

epimanikion, a gold-embroidered vestment which covers the foreams of the priest

Epitaphios, a gold-embroidered liturgical veil carried in procession on Good Friday

epitrachelion, strip of cloth which was worn around the neck and hung on the breast of the priest

Etoimasia (Preparation), representation of a throne with a Gospel book on it, simbolizing the Second Coming

Eucharist, celebration of «thanksgiving» by Christians (the Mass or Liturgy), and more specifically, the consecrated bread and wine

Gospel Lectionary, the book with the four Gospels rearranged so as to conform to the sequence in which they will be read in the church over the course of the year. A Lectionary begins with the passage of St. John read on Easter Sunday and continues in the order John, Matthew, Luke and Mark

heirmoi, original ecclesiastic hymns with musical notation

hierarch, a) a prelate, b) the hierarchs: the Fathers of the Church in the early centuries, c) the three Hierarchs, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos (the Theologian) and John Chrysostom

himation, part of the classical costume in the form of a cloth worn over the *chiton*

Hypotyposis, the regulations governing the functioning of the monastery

iconostasis, the screen, covered with icons, separating the Sanctuary from the *naos* of an Orthodox church

idiorrhythmic, monastery, allowing each member of the community to have personal possessions and to regulate his own life

kamoukha, a rich, heavy silk material, decorated with branches and coloured flowers

kathisma, a house rented for life from a monastery by a monk or monks

katholikon, monastery church (the main church, if more than one)

katzi, censer with a short handle, not chains

kollema-ata, a) the common edge of two leaves of parchmen glued the one below the other in order to produce the scroll b) a leave of parchment of the scroll

kollyva, boiled wheat offered in honour and memory of celebrated saints and also in honour of the dead

kondakarion, manuscript containing kontakia, i.e. ecclesiastical hymns

Lavra, monastery

lention, the cloth with which the abbot girded himself, in imitation of Christ, at the feast of the Washing of the Feet.

lypira, small icons of the Virgin and St. John supported by serpents, which frame the bottom part of the Cross, on the *iconostasis*

maphorion, long, sleeveless tunic with a hood, worn by the women

menologion, a calendar containing short biographies of the Saints in the order in which their feasts are celebrated

metochion, an extraterritorial possession of a monastery, whether a dependent cell or an estate, usually with its own church or chapel

mitra, a cylindrical head-cover of woolen or velvet material, with applied panels of gold-embroidered silk

naos, the main body of a church, i.e. the nave and side aisles (if any)

narthex, a vestibule or portico at the west of an Orthodox church

Nikopoios, an iconographical type of the Virgin, where the Child is portrayed on a metallion in front of her

Octateuch, the first eight books of the Old Testament

omophorion, the distinguing mark of the bishop. It consists of a broad hand that encircles the shoulders of the celebrant with one end falling in front and the other behind

panagiarion, a circular convex case, with a liturgical use in monasteries, which opens to form a diptych. The Virgin is portrayed on the inside of one leaf, and some religious scene on the inside of the other

Pantokrator, a stern-featured representation of Christ as «Ruler of All», as found on the dome interior of most Byzantine churches

phelonion, the bell-shaped chasuble of the Eastern Church

pittakion, an imperial or episcopal document

podea, decorated cloth hung below the icons on

Feast days

polos, circular piece of cloth embroidered with gold, sewed on the neck of the *omophorion*

polykandelon, a bronze support for several smaller lamps; a chandelier

potamoi (rivers), the two fringes at the end of the vestment

Proskynesis, the most venerated icon of a church

Proskomide, the first part of the Orthodox liturgy

prothesis, a) the Offertory ceremony at the beginning of the Divine Liturgy b) an apse or recess at the east end of a church, north of the *Bema* or sanctuary, in which the Offertory ceremony takes place

protospatharios, a military rank

protosynkelos, a ecclesiastic rank

pseudo-kufic, imitation of a form of Islamic script for decorative purposes

ripidium (flabellum), liturgical fan originally to keep insects away from the bread and wine; later, in metal, an implement attached to the rear of the altar

Royal Door, the central doorway in the *iconostasis*

sah, a mark from a sharp instrument on a silver object declaring that the object has been inspected

sakkos, the most widely used hierarchical vestment, a short tunic with wide half-sleeves

scriptorium, the workshop of a copyist of manuscripts

spolia, architectural materials reused

stauropegion, a monastery under the protection of the Patriarch since the day of its erection

sticharion, a part of the orthodox ecclesiastical costume

stichirarion, manuscript containing stichira, i.e. short ecclesiastical poems

synaxarion, book containing a short reading about a saint or feast, arranged according to the calendar

tirtiri, (gold or silver bullion) a very fine coil of gold or silver wire that can be cut off ine the required lengths and is attached to the ground material by a thread passing through the hollow center

triptych, icon with three panels

typicon, a set of regulations ordering the way of life of a monastery

zeon, small vessel for the hot water used during the preparation of the Holy Communion

ABBREVIATIONS

ΑΔ = *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.*

ΑΕ = *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.*

Βραβεῖον = Deacon Chr. Florentis, *Βραβεῖον τῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου,* Διπτύχων Παράφυλλα 1, Athens 1980.

Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art = *Byzantine and Post Byzantine Art* (Exhibition Catalogue), Athens 1986.

Byzantine Art = *Byzantine Art, A European Art* (Exhibition Catalogue), Athens 1964.

Chatzinikolaou-Paschou, *Κατάλογος Μικρογραφιῶν* = A. Marava-Chatzinikolaou and Chr. Toufexi-Paschou, *Κατάλογος μικρογραφιῶν βυζαντινῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,* 2 vols., Athens 1978, 1985.

ΔΙΕΕ = *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*

Diehl, *Le Trésor* = Ch. Diehl, «Le trésor de la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du XIIIe siècle», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 1 (1892) 488-525.

ΔΧΑΕ = *Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.*

ΕΕΒΣ = *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.*

Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές* = K. Ch. Fatourou, «Οἰκοδομικὲς ἐπιγραφὲς τοῦ Μοναστηριοῦ τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου στὴν Πάτμο», *Ἐπιγραφὲς τῆς Πάτμου,* Athens 1966.

Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική* = K. Ch. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ ἀρχιτεκτονική. Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ὡς δεῖγμα χαρακτηριστικῆς Πατμιακῆς τεχνοτροπίας,* Athens 1962.

Grabar, *Manuscrits Enluminés* = A. Grabar, *Les Manuscrits Grecs Enluminés de Provenance Italienne (IXe–XIe siècles),* Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques VIII, Paris 1972.

Icons = K. Weitzmann, M. Chatzidakis, S. Radojčić, *Icons,* New York, n.d.

Icons of Patmos = M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos,* Athens 1985 (where further bibliography is to be found).

Icons of the Cretan School = Nano Chatzidakis, *Icons of the Cretan School – Benaki Museum,* Athens 1983.

ΙΕΕ = *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους,* Athens 1970-1980.

Jacopi, *Le Miniature* = G. Jacopi, «Le Miniature dei Codici di Patmo», *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII (1932-1933) 573-705.

Kominis, *Πίνακες* = A. Kominis, *Πίνακες χρονολογημένων Πατμιακῶν Κωδίκων,* Athens 1968 (Facsimiles, Athens 1970).

Le Icone = K. Weitzmann, G. Alibegašvili, A. Volskaya, G. Babić, M. Chatzidakis, M. Alpatov, Th. Voinescu, *Le Icone,* Milan 1981 (french edition: *Les Icônes,* Paris 1982).

MM = Fr. Miklosich and Jos. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana,* vol. VI., Vienna 1890.

Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική – Τοιχογραφίαι* = A. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου,* Proceedings of the Academy of Athens no. 28, Athens 1970.

Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές* = S. A. Papadopoulos, «Ἐπιγραφὲς Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτμου», *Ἐπιγραφὲς τῆς Πάτμου,* Athens 1966.

Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1964* = S. A. Papadopoulos, *The Monastery of St. John the Theologian,* Athens 1964.

Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1977* = S. A. Papadopoulos, *Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Historical-Archaeological Guide,* Patmos 1977.

Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1987* = S. A. Papadopoulos, *Monastery of St. John the Theologian, History and Art,* Patmos 1987.

Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* = I. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη,* Athens 1980.

Spatharakis, *Corpus* = I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the year 1453,* Byzantina-Neerlandica 8, Leiden 1981.

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Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei* = K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts,* Berlin 1935.

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PAGE 25

1. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 9-118.

2. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*.

3. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*.

4. Cf. M. Philippa-Apostolou, *Τὸ Κάστρο τῆς Ἀντιπάρου. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν ὀχυρομένων οἰκισμῶν τοῦ Αἰγαίου*, Athens 1978, pp. 86ff.

5. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 41. For a similar case, cf. Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios, History and Architecture*, Athens 1982, pp. 188-189.

6. Cf. Ch. Bouras, «General introduction», *Greek traditional Architecture*, vol. 1, Athens 1983, pp. 28, 29.

7. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 26, 28-38. It should be noted that the external windows were not part of the original building.

PAGE 26

1. Chr. Iakovides, *Χώρα Πάτμου, 1088-1912*, Athens 1978, p. 60 ff.

2. For the most recent views on the dating of the wall-paintings in the chapel and the refectory, cf. E. Kollias, «Patmos», *Byzantine Art in Greece. Mosaics-Wall Paintings*, Athens 1986, p. 26.

3. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, passim.

4. Orlandos (*Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 70) dates the narthex to «immediately after the construction of the original church».

5. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 68-69. It should be added that in the case of the Monastery of the Theologian, too, the cistern has a small section projecting above ground, with an arched opening. This is to the east of the propylon of the chapel of the Virgin (cf. op cit. fig. 63).

6. A. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 2, Athens 1958, pp. 32f. and id., *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 105-107.

7. The twelfth paragraph of the «Hypotyposis» of the Saint (*MM*, pp. 66-67). From the Saint's will, it appears that the walls had not yet been completed in 1093 (*MM*, p. 81).

8. It is very difficult to make a systematic analysis of the material and construction methods of the wall, since a large part of it has been covered by later escarpments, or has been stitched. On the restoration work of 1957-1961, v.i.

9. In connection with the tracing of the katholikon at ground level.

10. Cf. A. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, op. cit., pp. 27-30 and K. Papaioannou, *Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ μοναστήρια σὰν ἀρχιτεκτονικὲς συνθέσεις*, Athens 1977, passim.

11. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 48-49.

12. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, note 2, p. 49.

13. Orlandos' plan (*Ἀρχιτεκτονικη-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 47, fig. 31) is not accurate at this point.

14. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 52 and Dom. Hayer, *La Laconie byzantine...*, Strasbourg 1982, p. 159.

PAGE 27

1. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 53. The same result could be obtained above vaults of unequal height, by spreading a layer of coarse material, or with the aid of wooden structures.

2. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 59-60. Pan. Vokotopoulos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ εἰς τὴν Δυτ. Στερεὰν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον*, Thessalonike 1975, pp. 156-158.

3. The two westernmost. Here, too, Orlandos' observations (*Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 60-61) are inaccurate.

4. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 63-68.

5. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 85-86.

6. They were not from Constantinople (Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 24). The statements about the craftsmen who accompanied Hosios Christodoulos made by Ch. Iakovides, «Patmos», *Greek traditional Architecture*, Athens 1985, p. 11, are without foundation and undocumented.

7. The «Life» of the saint contains evidence that the monks and the founder himself helped in the building work. Cf. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, Athens 1966, p. 52.

8. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, pp. 122-123.

9. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 96. Cf. also, id., «Ἡ Τράπεζα τῆς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου», *Δωδεκανησιακὸν Ἀρχεῖον* Γ (1958) 3-8.

10. This is also an unusual feature, cf. A. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

11. The tables with the decorative marble slabs presumably belong to the second phase of the refectory, in the 12th century.

12. On this, cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 81, notes 1-5.

13. Cf. also Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 17.

14. In addition to those published by A. Orlandos.

15. The piece is the upper part of the door frame, the crowning member of which was carved from the same block. It has been cut away at the left, perhaps when it was incorporated into the narthex. This fine piece is not noted in Orlandos' drawings (*Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pl. 30, section). The door frame was noted by S. Papadopoulos (*Patmos 1977*, p. 33).

16. The eggs can be seen at the top of the photograph, fig. 53, in A. Orlandos. Cf. also *Annuario della Scuola Italiana* 2 (1916) 93, fig. 75.

17. Of the same type as that in the church of the Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike. Cf. A. Orlandos, *Ἡ ξυλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλική*, vol. 2, Athens 1954, p. 545, fig. 510.

18. There is another piece of this pulpit measuring 87.5×44 cm., in the refectory of the Monastery.

19. This has a representation of a cross. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 101, fig. 77.

20. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 103, fig. 79.

21. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 61, fig. 42 and p. 85. It should be noted that the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos has an identical stylobate. The rib on it can be seen in op. cit., fig. 70.

PAGE 28

1. The following pieces, now stored in the refectory, may be noted here: a) a small octagonal pillar, with a capital decorated with a cross and carved of a piece with the pillar, height 91.5 cm.; b) a closure slab with eight rosettes set vertically above each other (dimensions 82×23.5×8 cm.); c) a closure slab with the representation of a cross decorated with precious stones on a stepped plinth, flanked by leaves and shoots (dimensions 60×87×9 cm.); and, finally, d) a closure slab with a lozenge and three rosettes, original dimensions 81.5×47 cm., now incorporated into the modern «proskynitari» of the saint in the monastery courtyard.

2. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 89-90, figs. 68, 69. Th. Pazaras, *Ἀνάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι καὶ ἐπιτάφιες πλάκες τῆς μέσης καὶ ὕστερης βυζαντινῆς περιόδου στὴν Ἑλλάδα*, Thessalonike 1984, pp. 92, 107, 108, 181, 182, 226.

3. R. Farioli, «Una lastra marmorea a Patmos e la tipologia dei sarcofagi mediobizantini a pannelli», *Studi di storia dell' arte in memoria di M. Rotili*, Naples 1984, pp. 167-172, pl. 43-45.

4. Op. cit., pp. 89-92.

5. The traces of a circle on a marble slab indicates that there was some marble incrustation.

6. V.s. p. 27, note 21.
7. Cf. V. Korać, «Les églises à neuf unique avec une coupole dans l'architecture byzantine», *Zographe* 8 (1977) 10-14 and Ch. Bouras, «Ρίβιον», *Ἐπιστ. Ἐπετ. Πολυτεχν. Σχολῆς ΑΠΘ* Γ΄ (1968) 41-57.
8. The chapel of the Ayioi Saranda, built in contact with the katholikon of the Great Lavra. Cf. P. Mylonas, «Le plan inital du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra», *Cahiers Archéologiques* 32 (1984) 89ff.
9. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 13, 14, 16, 17, 19. A few pieces (the small pillars supporting the fourth parapet slab to the south) are clearly modern. But these are not incorporated into the stoa.
10. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 13, figs. 2 and 3, p. 92.
11. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 92. Papadopoulos (*Patmos 1977, p. 32*) considers the exonarthex to be a work of the 17th century.
12. Cf. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 104, note 1.
13. Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1977*.
14. At the keystone of the barrel vault, for example, to the right as one enters.
15. The dating of the wooden tie-beams still in situ, by dendrochronology, would make a serious contribution to solving the problem of the date of the structure.

PAGE 29
1. Examples are: Kapnikarea in Athens, the katholika of Daphni Monastery, Hosios Meletios, Zoodochos Pigi at Samarina, and Fatih Djami at Ainos.
2. Basil Barskij of Kiev, *Stranstvovanija*, vol. 2, p. 185. Orlandos was not prepared to make use of the sketch, in contrast to M. Chatzidakis who re-published it (v.i.).
3. In order to create an open-air corridor to the building today known as the sacristy (there is an entrance that is omitted by Orlandos on his topographical plan) and to some of the cells.
4. *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 69-70, note 2.
5. The known representations are: a) 17th century icon in a private collection (Th. Chatzidakis, *L'art de icones en Crete...*, Charlesroy 1982, without pagination, no. 45; b) Sanctuary door from the iconostasis of the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos (*Icons of Patmos*, pp. 69-70, pl. 86-87, fig. 19); c) Icon of the Saint (*Icons of Patmos*, pp. 145-146, pl. 159, fig. 112); d) Icon of the Saint (*Icons of Patmos*, p. 145, pl. 161, fig. 111); e) Donors' triptych (*Icons of Patmos*, pp. 162, pl. 184, fig. 141, and *Πάτμος-Παρουσία*, Athens 1968, p. 15); and f) Sanctuary door from the chapel of the Holy Apostles (Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 31, pl. 12).
6. Cf. *Icons of Patmos*, p. 111-112, fig. 64, in connection with an icon by Thomas Vathas (?).
7. In all the representations, the fourth arch to the south and the funerary chapel of Hosios Christodoulos are omitted, and the arches are not pointed, but semi-circular.
8. In cases a, d and e. (Cf. note 6).
9. In case b.
10. In cases a, b, d and e.
11. In cases b, d and e.
12. In case b.
13. Building repairs are attested in a document of 1513. Cf. *MM*, p. 398.
14. Cf. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 13. Two other dates, 1594 and 1597, can be read on other lintels (op. cit., p. 13). Reservations have been expressed as to whether these lintels are here in first use. Cf. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 129.

PAGE 32
1. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 114, 116, 118.
2. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 117-118.
3. Cf. I. Floridis, «Περὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Χαρτοφύλακος, Βιογραφικαὶ ἀποσημειώσεις», *ΔΙΕΕ* 2 (1885) 65-81.
4. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, passim.
5. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 126.
6. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 127-128. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 118. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 20, note 2.
7. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 117, note 1. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 21, note 2, where the date is corrected to 1602.
8. In 1625.
9. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 115.
10. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 119-120. The consonants in the name and the crossed swords leave little doubt that both should be regarded as founders' initials, rather than protective monograms. For Nikolaos Mathas and his connections with the monastery, cf. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 72 (nos. 158, 158A).
11. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 114, 115.
12. A. Karakatsanis, *Marine Subjects in Post-Byzantine Art and Western Engraving*, Athens 1972, pp. 234-5, fig. 156.
13. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 121.
14. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 121. Cf. also, N. Tsouklanakis, «Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καρπάθου Νεόφυτος Γριμάνης», *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* IV (1983) 220 and M. Philippa-Apostolou, «Τὸ ἀρχοντικὸ Νικολαΐδη στὴ Χώρα Πάτμου», *Ἐπώνυμα Ἀρχοντικὰ τῶν χρόνων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, Athens 1986, pp. 235ff., and especially pp. 241, 245.
15. On the title of «new founder» cf. also M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, I.R. Mircea, «Τὰ ρουμανικὰ ἔγγραφα τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ Μονῆς», *Σύμμεικτα* 2 (1970) 277.
16. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 122-123.
17. This is barrel-vaulted, about 2 metres wide, and has an arcade carried on three pillars. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 44, figs. 41-43, and Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 123ff., plate 116.
18. Involving the construction of four arches (three set transversely, and one lengthways), Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 44, regarded these as buttresses.
19. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 43-44, fig. 28, and Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 124-125.
20. That this was a single building programme was noted by K. Ch. Fatourou (*Ἐπιγραφές* and *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 37). It is in any case clear that the arches determined the limits of the «tzaphara», and that these in turn were built on the pillars, on a support surface prepared for this purpose.
21. The excarpments here act as buttresses and prevent the cracked walls from collapsing. The method was also employed at this period in some distant metochia of the Monastery. Cf. D. Philippidis, «Ὁ Γουλᾶς τοῦ Νιμποριοῦ στὴ Σαντορίνη», *Ἐπώνυμα Ἀρχοντικὰ τῶν χρόνων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, Athens 1986, pp. 219-234. Cf. also Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 118.
22. Cf. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, especially pp. 1-8.
23. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, pp. 30-31. The characteristics regarded here as differences in form between the architecture of Patmos and that of Rhodes are probably fortuitous, and derive from the level of competence of the craftsmen who carved them.

PAGE 33
1. The morphological features connected with it occur at least until the middle of the 18th century (door connecting the katholikon and the chapel of the Virgin). The quality and precision of the work are also impressive in the «tzaphara», just before 1700.
2. Cf. Ch. Bouras, «General introduction», *Greek traditional Architecture*, vol. 1, Athens 1983, pp. 161, 164.
3. For his inscription over the entrance to the katholikon of the Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, cf. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 18, pl. 8α (without transcription or comment). It was put there in 1617 (αχιζ΄) (and not 1612, Fatourou, op. cit.).
4. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 124, 125, pl. 11a.
5. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 122, pl. 10α,β.
6. Cf. M. Philippa-Apostolou, op. cit., pp. 245, 246, note 23. *Icons of Patmos*, p. 31 and Ch. Iakovides, *Χώρα Πάτμου, 1088-1912*, Athens 1978, p. 144 (Simantiris mansion). The *Brevium* of the monastery records the names of 14 master-craftsmen, craftsmen or builders, 11 of which are not accompanied by their place of origin. The names recorded are: master-craftsman Ananias Papazoglou from Rhodes, in 1762 (p. 67), Mastrogiorgis Mostras from Kalymnos, in 1807 (p. 87), Mastrokonstantakis, father of Joseph of Philadelpheia from Patmos, in 1733 (p. 54), and the eleven of unknown origin: Mastro-Ionas, 1597 (p. 11), Michael Kanakis, 1627 (p. 22, note 6), Mastro-Markos Tzikalas, 1643 (p. 27), Nikiforos, builder, 1646 (p. 29), Mastronikodemos, 1656 (p. 33, note 3), Mastroioannis, father of the monk Savvas, 1656 (p. 34), Makarios, master-craftsman, 1665 (p. 35), Agapios, marble-worker, 1742 (p. 58), Mastrosavvas Poulakis, 1796 (p. 80), Mastronikitas, father of the monk Kallinikos, 1795 (p. 81) and Mastrodimitrios Goumenakis, father of Gervasios, 1820 (p. 96).
7. Of the type known on Patmos as «mantomata». Cf. Chr. Iakovides, op. cit., p. 94.

8. Like the ones added to the main courtyard by Neophytos Grimanis, which recall the transverse arches in the streets of medieval settlements, and similar structures on Rhodes (*Annuario della Scuola Italiana* I (1914) 269, fig. 57).
9. As in the so-called «tzaphara». Similar motifs are to be found on the facades of houses in Lindos. Cf. M. Montesanto, *La città Sacra (Lindo)*, Rome 1930, p. 23 and plates after p. 16.
10. Again, in the «tzaphara». Rosettes of this type occur in the later main doorway of the katholikon, Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 75, fig. 55.
11. Cf. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 8.
12. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, pp. 7. 28, 29, 38.
13. With respect to the arguments adduced (Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 28) to demonstrate that the forms were of Renaissance, rather than medieval origin, the following may be noted: The arches consisting of a complete semi-circle belong to the unified, preexisting Byzantine tradition. The cyma-recta mouldings and the abacuses of the impost blocks with mouldings of this type are also common elements in the late Gothic repertoire. Only the lettering in the inscription of Nikiforos are genuinely of a Renaissance character, and this is due to the imitation of printed Greek books of the period. It should be noted that Renaissance manners had come to the area at a much earlier date (as in the propylon that was later incorporated into Suleiman's Mosque on Rhodes), but under a completely different guise. Cf. H. Balducci, *Orme del Rinascimento Italiano in Rodi*, Pavia, 1931, and Chr. Karouzos, *Ρόδος*, Athens 1973, pp. 61, 73.
14. Cf. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 34, pl. 14β, and Ch. Koutelakis, *Ξυλόγλυπτα τέμπλα τῆς Δωδεκανήσου*, Athens-Ioannina 1986, pp. 66-70, pl. 7γ, 34α, 47α. The iconostasis of Saint George of Aporthiana, or at least a section of it, is much older. The inclusion on it of icons by Andreas Ritzos and a bema door attributed to the same painter, according to the researches of Manolis Chatzidąkis, raise its age considerably (end of the 15th century). Cf. Ch. Koutelakis, op. cit.
15. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 32, pl. 13β, 14α. Ch. Koutelakis, op. cit., pp. 65-66, pl. 7β, 34β.
16. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, pp. 31-32, pl. 11-12, 13α. Ch. Koutelakis, op. cit., pp. 80-82, pl. 11β.
17. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 35, pl. 18β, 19α. Ch. Koutelakis, op. cit., pp. 78-79, pl. 11α, 20β, 47β.
18. E.g. those of the chapels of the Holy Cross and Saint John the Baptist in the monastery.
19. Cf. *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 34-35. Ch. Koutelakis, op. cit., p. 170, and also pp. 26, 63-64, for the possibility that a known Cretan maker of iconostases worked in the monastery.
20. The school of Patmos functioned for a period of twenty years, attesting to similar vitality in the cultural sphere.
21. Cf. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 46, fig. 30. The library was probably earlier housed in the same place, in the more limited space over the esonarthex alone. Cf. *Icons of Patmos*, p. 70.
22. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 130, 131.
23. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, pp. 132, 133.

PAGE 34
1. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 75-78, figs. 55-59. Orlandos is of the view that the door-leaves are not contemporary with the frames.
2. Cf. Ch. Bouras, «General introduction», *Greek traditional Architecture*, vol. 1, Athens 1983, pp. 30-32. The excellent technique in the execution of both the marble and the wooden parts of the doors of the katholikon is an indication that they were not made by a local «popular» craftsman, but by one who was acquainted with the models, possibly in Constantinople.
3. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*. The only door-leaves that seem to belong to the Byzantine period are those of the door between the narthex and the chapel of Hosios Christodoulos (Orlandos, op. cit., pp. 53, 54), with their typically Byzantine huge locks. On this, cf. P. Foundas, «Βυζαντινὲς κλειδαριὲς στὴν εἰκονογραφία καὶ στὰ κείμενα», *Ἕκτο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης*, Athens 1986, pp. 61-62.
4. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 53-57, figs. 34-38. Careful observation reveals that there are stylistic differences between the tie-beams.
5. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 134, pl. 15β. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 61, fig. 43. Papadopoulos, Patmos 1977, p. 36, fig. 7. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 102, note 1.
6. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 128, plate 13a.
7. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 50, fig. 32, p. 82, fig. 62, and Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 128. The inscription and the date, 1745, refer to the later decoration of the walls of the chapel, and probably also to the construction of the door.
8. Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, p. 8. The well-cover is dated to 1714.
9. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 135. Ch. Iakovides, «Patmos», *Greek traditional Architecture*, Athens 1985, p. 38.
10. Published in the article by G. Gerola, *Annuario della Scuola Italiana* 2 (1916) 84ff., figs. 71ff, and in *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, 1932-33, p. 716ff., figs. 1-8. Cf. also the photographs in the Lambakis collection, numbers 6365-68, 6376-78, 6392-94.
11. The easternmost arch of the «tzaphara», for example, was closed in by a wall, and there was a balcony in the main courtyard, supported on iron posts.
12. Like that of the earlier bell-tower in the monastery.
13. The official in charge of the programme was Ioannis D. Kontis, and the representatives of the Directorate of Restoration were E. Stikas and G. Solomonidis. John Travlos also helped to supervise the work (1961).
14. Cf. I. Kontis, «Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου», *ΑΔ* 16 (1960) 275.
15. K. Fatourou, *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) B2, p. 326, *ΑΔ* 19 (1964) B3, p. 474 and *ΑΔ* 20 (1965) B3, p. 601. *ΕΕΒΣ* 28 (1958) 600, *ΕΕΒΣ* 29 (1959) 525, *ΕΕΒΣ* 30 (1960-61) 686. Cf. also *Α. Κ. Ὀρλάνδος, ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ ἔργον του*, Athens 1978, pp. 560, 562.
16. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 42, note 1. In the insert plate A, with the general plan of the monastery, there are no details in the section to the west, but merely the description «contemporary structures».
17. V.s. p. 25.

PAGE 35
1. The archives of the Directorate for the Restoration of Byzantine Monuments contain two brief reports by I. Kontis, numbered 482, of 17-3-1958, and 371, of 17-2-1959. They have no drawings or photographs, but are of great value for the information they contain, and the statement of the principles followed in this work on the Monastery on Patmos. These reports, at least, ought to be published.

WALL PAINTINGS

PAGE 57
1. *MM*, p. 45. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 55-68.
2. *MM*, p. 56. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, Β΄ Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν*, Athens 1980, p. 39.
3. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, p. 65.
4. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, pp. 107-116. Ead., *Ἔγγραφα*, p. 47.
5. *MM*, pp. 57 and 81. Nystazopoulou, op. cit., p. 39.
6. Kyrillos Voinis, *Ἀκολουθία Ἱερὰ τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χριστοδούλου*, Athens 1884, pp. 127-128. Cf. also, Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, p. 55.
7. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική – Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 257.
8. *Icons of Patmos*, p. 19, note 10.
The greater part of the wall paintings of the katholikon in the naos, the inner narthex and the Chapel of Hosios Christodoulos, is still covered by layers of smoke deposits; the subjects are therefore hardly discernible. On the other hand, the frescoes in the Chapel of the Virgin, the Refectory, and the Cave of the Revelation were cleaned and restored by the painter–restorer Photis Zachariou (1964-1965 and 1973).
9. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, p. 62. *Icons of Patmos*, p. 19, note 10.

PAGE 58
1. K. Voinis, op. cit., p. 159.
2. *Icons of Patmos*, p. 32-33.
3. *Icons of Patmos*, p. 33.

PAGE 59

1. *Icons of Patmos,* pp. 34-35, 65-66 and 69-70. Ch. Koutelakis, *Ξυλόγλυπτα τέμπλα τῆς Δωδεκανήσου μέχρι τό 1700,* Athens 1986, pp. 32-33 and 78-80.

2. For the Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, Fatourou, *Πατμιακὴ Ἀρχιτεκτονική,* p. 18, plan 6. For the painter of the esonarthex of the Monastery of St. John, see *Icons of Patmos,* p. 34.

3. I. Floridis, «Περὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Χαρτοφύλακος βιογραφικαὶ ἀποσημειώσεις», *ΔΙΕΕ* 2 (1885) 65-81. M. Malandrakis, *Ἡ Πατμιὰς Σχολή,* Athens 1911, pp. 7-13. A. Marava-Chatzinikolaou, *Πάτμος,* Athens 1957, pp. 43-45. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές,* pp. 113-114.

4. The exonarthex of the katholikon, which is open at the front, is adorned with two layers of wall paintings, depicting the life and miracles of Saint John the Theologian. The earlier layer dates to the 17th century and the later to the 18th. On the east wall there are also frescoes dating from 1891. According to an inscription above the main door of the esonarthex, the katholikon and the esonarthex were repainted in 1803.

PAGE 60

1. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι,* pp. 82, 121-174 and fig. 62. For the 12th century decoration, see E. Kollias, «Patmos», *Byzantine Art in Greece. Mosaics-Wall Paintings,* Athens 1986, pp. 12-15.

2. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus Anciens Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* Paris 1929, plate XLV.

3. H. Omont, *Évangiles avec Peintures Byzantines du XIe s.,* Paris 1908, plate 121.

4. E. Kitsinger, *I Mosaici di Monreale,* Palermo 1960, plate 68.

5. N. Drandakis, *Βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μέσα Μάνης,* Athens 1964, pp. 37-38, plate 32β. With regard to the Fount of Wisdom, A. Xyngopoulos has in the past advanced the theory (A. Xyngopoulos, «Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος «πηγὴ τῆς σοφίας», *AE* 1942-1944, pp. 10-12) that the figures drinking water from the rivers of wisdom flowing from Chrysostomos, and wearing a «skouphos» (a cylindrically shaped hat) on their heads, were clergymen. We believe that we have demonstrated elsewhere that the «skouphos» is not used to indicate clergymen, but wise men or, in general, literate clergy or laity. (E. Kollias, *Δύο ροδιακὰ ζωγραφικὰ σύνολα τῆς ἐποχῆς τῆς ἱπποτοκρατίας. Ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος στὰ Τριάντα καὶ ἡ Ἁγία Τριάδα (Ντολαπλὶ μετζίντ) στὴ μεσαιωνικὴ πόλη,* Athens 1986, pp. 194-196.

6. T. Velmans, «L'iconographie de la 'fontaine de vie' dans la tradition byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge», *Sythronon,* Paris 1968, 120. See also A. Xyngopoulos, loc. cit., p. 10.

7. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική – Τοιχογραφίαι,* pp. 158-162 and 168-169; cf. also p. 137.

PAGE 61

1. For the depiction in the Sanctuary of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, see Dionysios of Fourna, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς Τέχνης* (=*Painters' Manual*) (Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus), Petrograd 1909, p. 218. Cf. also the justification for the depiction of this scene in the Sanctuary made by A. Xyngopoulos, «Ἡ προμετωπὶς τῶν κωδίκων βατικανοῦ 1162 καὶ παρισινοῦ 1208», *EEBΣ* 13 (1937) 176-177. For the Virgin 'Theodochos Naos', see *Μηναῖον Νοεμβρίου,* Athens 1960, p. 113.

2. J.D. Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient,* Brussels 1935, p. 159.

3. D. Pallas, «Ἡ Θεοτόκος Ζωοδόχος Πηγή», *ΑΔ* 26 (1971) Part A–Studies, pp. 203-4.

PAGE 62

1. *Πεντηκοστάριο,* Editions M. Saliveros, pp. 16ff.

2. Next to the north wall and the iconostasis is the mouth of a cistern, most of which extends beneath the katholikon. An Early Christian Ionic capital with a hole cut in the middle, and incised with the inscription: 1742, November 26, was used for a cover (Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι,* pp. 68-69 and fig. 48. Fatourou, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 129). The thought readily springs to mind that the existence of water in the chapel, while not dictating the choice of part of the iconographic programme, may at least have influenced it. In Gerasimos Smyrnakis' *Ἡ μυστηριοφύλαξ νῆσος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, ἡ καλουμένη Πάτμος* (manuscript from the beginning of the 20th century), pp. 1437 and 1438, indeed, we are informed that, in his time, when the 12th century frescoes could no longer by seen and the chapel was adorned with scenes, dating from 1745, of the Akathistos Hymn, there was a scene of Christ's Meeting with the Woman of Samaria, by the painter Daniel, above the mouth of the cistern; this confirms the idea that, in the post-Byzantine period at least, this scene was connected with the cistern in the chapel. However, at another point of his manuscript (p. 1401), Smyrnakis notes that the mouth of the cistern was at an earlier date to the right of the main door leading from the esonathex to the naos, beneath the icon of Saint John the Theologian. The monks closed this earlier mouth and in 1742 opened the present one in the chapel of the Virgin, because on one occasion, after heavy rainfall, the water overflowed and flooded the chapel of Saint Christodoulos, which was at a lower level, to the south of the esonarthex. Smyrnakis adduces no supporting evidence for this statement, however. And even if there had been a mouth in the esonarthex that was sealed at some time, this does not preclude the possibility that there was a second in the chapel, which was repaired in 1742. Whatever the case, it does not effect the hypothesis that the existence of the cistern, perhaps purely by chance, in the chapel helped to give tangible expression to the theological idea of the Logos-Christ and the Life–giving Fountain, by suggesting the specific iconographic programme.

3. D. Pallas, op. cit., 207, note 27.

4. According to a Patmian tradition, the chapel of Saint Anne in the Cave of the Revelation is believed to have been built in honour of Anna Dalassina, mother of the emperor Alexios I and benefactress of the monastery. This may also be the explanation for the worship of Saint Anne in the chapel of the Virgin.

PAGE 63

1. S. Pelekanidis, *Καστοριά,* Thessalonike 1953, plates 17α and 77. S. Pelekanidis, M. Chatzidakis, «Kastoria», *Byzantine Art in Greece, Mosaics – Wall Paintings,* Athens 1985, fig. 16, pp. 74 and 75. A. Xyngopoulos believes (A. Xyngopoulos, «Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τῶν ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα εἰς τὴν Ἀχειροποίητον τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης», *AE* 1957, σ. 20-23) that red patches on the cheeks of the faces, especially those worked with parallel lines (cf. the face of the Virgin in the Sanctuary) are found in a group of monuments from the 12th and the first decades of the 13th centuries. The stylised ears, again according to Xyngopoulos, first appear in Byzantine painting about the middle of the 11th century, and are predominant in the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries.

2. M. Chatzidakis, «Μεσοβυζαντινὴ Τέχνη (1071–1204)», *IEE,* vol. 8, pp. 406, 407-408. D. Mouriki, «Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 34-35 (1980-1981) 116-117. E. Tsigaridas, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς μονῆς Λατόμου Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἡ βυζαντινὴ ζωγραφικὴ τοῦ 12ου αἰ.,* Thessalonike 1986, pp. 157 and 163.

3. Mouriki, loc. cit., p. 117. Tsigaridas, op. cit., p. 160 note 21.

4. There are serious differences of opinion as to the date of this last ensemble of paintings. The earliest date suggested is the end of the 11th century, and the latest the beginning of the 13th. I agree with those who assign the wall paintings to the end of the 13th century. Cf. Pelekanidis-Chatzidakis, loc. cit., pp. 50-65.

5. This was probably the source of the special worship given on Patmos to James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, first noted by M. Chatzidakis (*Icons of Patmos,* p. 22).

6. E. Vranoussi, «Πρόσταξις Μανουὴλ Α΄ Κομνηνοῦ», *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀ. Κ. Ὀρλάνδον,* vol. 2, pp. 85 and 92. I. Zigioulas, «Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων», *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια,* vol. 6, p. 841. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα,* pp. 72-74.

7. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα,* pp. 156-157. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα,* p. 74.

8. The first to suspect that Leontios II was the probable donor for the painted decoration of the chapel of the Virgin was S. Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1964,* p. 19. M. Chatzidakis, *IEE,* vol. 8, p. 408, dates these wall paintings to 1176-1180, a dating with which I agree. D. Mouriki, loc. cit., p. 116 dates them to ca. 1180; and K.Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece,* Pretoria 1982, p. 179 to the end of the 12th or the

beginning of the 13th century.
9. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 175-255. Kollias, loc. cit., pp. 24-35.

PAGE 64
1. Stefanescu, op. cit., pp. 36, 110, 111, 137 and 153.
2. Stefanescu, op. cit., pp. 116-125.
3. Stefanescu, op. cit., pp. 157-160.

PAGE 65
1. Dionysios of Fourna, op. cit., p. 287. K. Doukakis, *Ὁ Μέγας Συναξαριστής*, vol. 5, Athens 1956, p. 379.
2. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 181-187.
3. Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, p. 268. E. Tsigaridas, op. cit., p. 102 note 68.
4. Pelekanidis, op. cit., plate 8. Pelekanidis-Chatzidakis, loc. cit., figs. 8 and 9.
5. L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo, Les fresques de Saint Georges et les peintures byzantines du XIIe s.*, Brussels 1975, fig. 72.
6. Chatzidakis, *IEE*, vol. Θ., p. 408. Elsewhere, I have dated this layer of wall paintings to the end of the 12th century (Kollias, loc. cit., p. 26). Orlandos dated these frescoes to the first half of the 13th century (Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 268-269).
7. Stefanescu, op. cit., pp. 40 and 62.
8. Dionysios of Fourna (op. cit., p. 222) recommends that refectories be decorated with scenes like The Last Supper, Christ Eating with the Publicans, Christ Blessing the Five Loaves, the Hospitality of Martha, and others, which have reference to food, and are at the same time associated with the Eucharist.

PAGE 66
1. S. Dufrenne, «L'enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du XIIIe siècle», *Symposium de Sopocani 1965*, Beograd 1967, p. 35.
2. Pelekanidis, plates 71α and 72β. Pelekanidis-Chatzidakis, loc. cit., p. 75, fig. 12.
3. Sopocani (1264) (V.J. Djuric, *Sopocani*, Leipzig 1967, plates XVI and XVII). Omorphi Ekklisia on Egina (1289) (G. Sotiriou, «Ἡ ὄμορφη ἐκκλησία Αἰγίνης», *ΕΕΒΣ*, vol. 2, p. 269, fig. 16). Staro Nagoricino (1316) (Millet-Frolow, *La Peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, vol. III, Paris 1962, plate 92. 1) etc.
4. Sotiriou, loc. cit., pp. 267-268, fig. 14.
5. Millet-Frolow, op. cit., plates 93 and 102.
6. Orlandos dated this layer of paintings to the second half of the 13th century (Orlandos, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική-Τοιχογραφίαι*, pp. 269-270). Elsewhere I have dated it to the third quarter of the 13th century (Kollias, loc. cit., p. 26).
7. Marava-Chatzinikolaou, op. cit., pp. 18-19. P. Kritikos, «Πατμιακὰ Τοπωνύμια», *Δωδεκανησιακὸ Ἀρχεῖο* I (1955) 64.
8. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, p. 112-113.
9. Kollias, loc. cit., pp. 36-37, fig. 39.

PAGE 67
1. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, pp. 140-181. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 68-78.
2. V. Lazaref, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics*, London 1966, fig. 60.
3. E. Bakalova, *Église Ossuaire de Batchkovo*, Sofia 1977, figs. 65 and 112.
4. The wall paintings are unpublished.
5. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, p. 11.
6. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, p. 62. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, p. 18.
7. Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα*, pp. 75-76. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 68ff.

PAGE 68
1. *MM*, p. 83. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 45- 47.
2. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 95-96. Kominis, *Πίνακες*, pp. 10-11.
3. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 59 ff.

PAGE 69
1. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 61-63 and 67-68.
2. *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 23-35.

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ST. NICHOLAS. 11th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 1, pp. 44-45, pl. 1, 77. Italo Furlan, *Le icone bizantine a mosaico*, Milan-Padua 1979, pp. 27, 35-36, fig. 1.

SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN. 12th and 15th centuries. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 2, pp. 45-48, pl. 78, 79.

SAINT THEODORE THE TIRO. c. 1200. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 3, pp. 48-49, pl. 2.

SAINT JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD. c. 1260-1270. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 4, pp. 49-50, pl. 3, 82. *Icons*, pp. 69, 223, fig. p. 67.

SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST 1480-1500. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 35, p. 84, pl. 31, 96. *Icons of the Cretan School*, no. 22, p. 32, fig. p. 35.

THE CRUCIFIXION. First half of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 6, pp. 52-54, pl. 6, 8. About the Athens codex, see Chatzinikolaou – Paschou, *Κατάλογος Μικρογραφιῶν*, no. 66, pp. 236-241, figs. 470-474, especially fig. 472.

THE DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN. First half of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 7, pp. 54-55, pl. 7,9. *Icons*, pp. 80, 227, fig. p. 126.

SAINT NICHOLAS. First half of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no.8, pp. 55-56, pl. 10, 11.

SAINT NICHOLAS AND SCENES FROM HIS LIFE. Middle of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 5, pp. 50-51, pl. 4, 5. A similar sanctuary door, no. 38, pp. 86-88, pl. 98,99. Nancy P. Ševčenko, *The life of saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, Torino 1983, no. 41, pp. 55, 58, pl. 41.0-41.12 (pp. 335-340).

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THE EMBRACING OF PETER AND PAUL. Last decades of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 74, pp. 122-123, pl. 45. For comparative material, see *Icons of the Cretan School*, no. 15, p. 28 and colour pl. G. Rursa, «Une icône inconnue représentant les apôtres Pierre et Paul et la question de l'Hésychasme», *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinisten Kongress, Akten II/5, JÖB* 32/5, pp. 545-549. M. Vassilakes, «Εἰκόνα μὲ τὸν ἀσπασμὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου», *Ζ΄ Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης*, Athens 1987, p. 23.

CHRIST PANTOKRATOR – THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED. Second half of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 9, 10, pp. 59-61, pl. 13, 15 and 12. For the Virgin, see also *Le Icone*, p. 310, fig. p. 319. *Icons of the Cretan School*, no. 16, 17, pp. 28, 29 and colour pl.

TWO PANAGIARIA. End of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 13-14, pp. 63-65, pl. 22, 88.

SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN. c. 1500. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 12, pp. 62-63, pl. 14, 16. *Icons*, pp. 84, 134, 226, fig. p. 124.

THE MIRACLE OF SAINT MICHAEL AT CHONAE. c. 1500. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 20, pp. 71-72, pl. 17. *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, no. 128, p. 126, fig. p. 126.

CHRIST: THE MAN OF SORROW. 1480-1500. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 40, pp. 88-89, pl. 33, 101. *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, no. 111, p. 112, fig. p. 111. *Affreschi e Icone dalla Grecia (X-XVII secolo), Firenze – Palazzo Strozzi*, Athens 1986, no. 63, p. 108, fig. p. 109. *From Byzantium to El Greco*, Royal Academy of Arts-London, Athens 1987, no. 44, pp. 117-178, figs. p. 112, 177.

DOUBLE ICON: THE RAISING OF LAZARUS AND THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. End of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos*, no. 25, pp. 76-77, pl. 23. *Byzantine and*

Post-Byzantine Art, no. 124, pp. 123-124, fig. p. 124.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE. End of the 15th century. *Icons of Patmos,* no. 26, pp. 77-78, pl. 24.

SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN DICTATING TO PROCHOROS. Middle of the 16th century. *Icons of Patmos,* no. 52, p. 96, pl. 106, 107.

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TRIPTYCH. c. 1596. *Icons of Patmos,* no. 62, pp. 105-106, pl. 40-44, 117. *Icons,* p. 227, fig. p. 133. *Le Icone,* p. 313, fig. p. 359.

THE REVELATION – THE VISION OF SAINT JOHN. c. 1596. *Icons of Patmos,* no. 63. pp. 108-111, pl. 46, 47, 118. M. Chatzidakis, «Τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Θωμᾶ Βαθᾶ ἢ Μπαθᾶ καὶ ἡ Divota Maniera Greca», *Θησαυρίσματα* 14(1977) 239-251, pl. ΙΒ΄-ΚΒ΄.

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THE THREE CHURCH FATHERS. First half of the 17th century. *Icons of Patmos,* no. 71, pp. 119-120, pl. 50, 130.

SAINT JOHN THE HERMIT AND SCENES FROM HIS LIFE. First decades of the 17th century. *Icons of Patmos,* no. 133, pp. 157-158, pl. 176.

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–, «Typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos sur le monastère de Petritzos (Backovo) en Bulgarie», *Vizantijskij Vremennik,* suppl. vol. XI, no. 1.
E. Piltz, *Trois sakkoi byzantins,* Upsala 1976.
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M. Schuette, I. Müller-Christensen, *La broderie,* Tübingen 1963.
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–, «Ἡ ἐνδυτὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Μάρκου», *ΕΕΒΣ 29* (1959) 193 ff.
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–, «Οἱ ἐπιτάφιοι τῆς Μαριώρας», *Καθημερινή* (newspaper) 13.4.63.
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–, «Ἐκ τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐργαστηρίων τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως», *ΕΕΒΣ* 45 (1966) 277 ff.
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–, «I ricami bizantini», *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (opera diretta da H. Hahnloser) *II: Il Tesoro e il Museo,* Florence 1971, pp. 91 ff.
–, «Ἀντιμήνσια ἐκ τοῦ Σκευοφυλακίου τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ», *Πανηγυρικὸς τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 1400ῃ ἀμφιετηρίδι τῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ,* Athens 1972, ρλζ΄–ρνθ΄.
–, «Les ateliers de Vienne et la broderie religieuse dans les pays orthodoxes», 16th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Vienna, October 1982.
–, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ χρυσοκέντητα,* Ἔκδοση Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens 1986, pp. 31 ff and note 46.
Vranoussi, *Ἁγιολογικὰ Κείμενα.*
A. Xyngopoulos, «Ἀμνοὶ χρυσοῦφαντοι», *Μελετήματα στὴ μνήμη Βασιλείου Λαούρδα,* 1975, pp. 303-305.
E. G. Zachariadou, «Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τοῦ Νοτιοανατολικοῦ Αἰγαίου (μὲ ἀφορμὴ τὰ πατμιακὰ φιρμάνια τῶν ἐτῶν 1454-1522)», *Σύμμεικτα* 1 (1966) 184-203.
P. Zerlentis, *Ἱστορικαὶ ἔρευναι,* vol. A, issue B, Hermoupolis 1922.

CHURCH SILVER

PAGE 221

1. A.Dmitrievskij, *Patmosskie očerki iz poëzdki na ostrov Patmos, lëtom 1891 goda* (Patmian essays from a journey to the island of Patmos in the summer of 1891), Kiev 1894, pp. 195-196.

2. On modern Greek church silver in general, see Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρά,* Athens 1980, which gives an extensive account of the evolution and use of the vessels, the materials and the techniques and the basic bibliography up to 1980.

PAGE 222

1. Since it was not possible to check the quality of the metals, the term 'silver' is purely conventional. This is also true of the precious stones, and they are therefore not always given their precise names.

2. This study would not have been possible without the unstinting support of the monastic community of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, especially the abbot, archimandrite Isidoros, the sacristan and former abbot Pavlos, the keeper of the treasury, archimandrite Panteleimon, and the endless patience of the assistant keeper of the treasury, deacon Bartholomew, to whom I extend warm thanks. I would like to add to this list the name of the former sacristan, archimandrite Ignatios, who is no longer with us. Thanks are also due to the priest Georgios Kandros. On matters connected with the library and the archive, the help of deacon Chrysostomos Florentis was invaluable. Finally, I would like to thank S.Papadopoulos and deacon Chrysostomos Florentis for bringing to my attention the material of the edition they are preparing, with the title «The modern Greek archive of Patmos as a source for art and technique (16th-19th centuries)».

3. A.Dmitrievskij is the first to write about the treasury giving references to specific objects (A.Dmitrievskij, op. cit., pp. 174-205); he comments on the silver objects illustrated here in figs. 1, 14, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53. G.Jacopi, who produced the first extensive photographic presentation of the silverware and gold embroideries published photographs, with a brief comment, of the objects in figs. 1, 12, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 35, 36, 43, 44, 53 (G.Jacopi, «Cimeli del Ricamo, della pittura e della toreutica nel tesoro del Monastero di Patmo», *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII, part III (1932/3) 707-716 and figs. 1-123). S.Papadopoulos assembled together the inscriptions from all the precious objects (S.Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* pp. 1-108, plates 1-5), and published, amongst the other donations by the Patriarch of Constantinople Neophytos VI, those presented here in figs. 27 and 30 (S.Papadopoulos, «Νεοφύτου τοῦ Στ΄ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔγγραφα καὶ ἀφιερώματα πρὸς τὴν Ἱ. Μονὴν Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου Πάτμου», *Χαριστήριον εἰς Α.Κ. Ὀρλάνδον,* Δ΄, Áthens 1967, pp. 220-246, plates LXXVII-LXXXVIII). Finally, for the objects illustrated in figs. 5, 6, 8, 13, 22, 25, 27, 34, 42, 44, 53, 54, 56, see Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρά,* Athens 1980, where they are discussed as evidence for the evolution and use of church silverware.

4. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* pp. 94-95, nos. 255-256, plate 4. In the inventory of the treasury made on 27.4.1829 the objects donated by Catherine the Great are described as follows: «2 gold medallions and a cross with diamond stones, donations by the never to be forgotten and most pious Empress of Great Russia, Catherine'.

5. On the economic and psychological function of donations to the monastery, see S.Asdrachas, *Patmos entre l'Adriatique et la Méditerranée Orientale pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle d'après les registres de Pothitos Xénos* (doctoral thesis), Paris 1972, p. 329.

6. P.Zerlentis, *Ἱστορικαὶ ἔρευναι περὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν νήσων τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Μεσογείου θαλάσσης,* vol. A, issue B, Hermoupolis 1913, p. 169.

PAGE 223

1. M.Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, I.R.Mircea, «Τὰ ρουμανικὰ ἔγγραφα τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ Μονῆς», *Σύμμεικτα* 2 (1970) 263-264. The monks usually took with them on the alms missions liturgical objects, sacred relics or gifts for the princes (*Βραβεῖον,* p. 75, note 3). In addition to economic support, they brought icons and vessels back with them (*Βραβεῖον,* p. 49, note 8. See also below, pp. 229, fig. 15, 46, 47).

2. See p. 235, fig. 53.

3. The prince of Wallachia, Michael Soutsos, sought for «cessation of the pain in his teeth» by the donation of a silver oil-lamp, dedicated to the skull of Saint Antypas, the «tooth-healer».

4. *Icons of Patmos,* pp. 27-28.

5. There is also a number of objects that bear a Turkish stamp, the «tuğra», and a mark, called a «sah», to show that it has been scrutinized. According to one theory, these came from Constantinople where, in the 17th century, at least, quality control was compulsory. Others believe, however, that there is not enough evidence to support this view. See Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, «Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρὰ Νέας Καρβάλης», *Πρακτικὰ Β΄ τοπικοῦ συμποσίου «Ἡ Καβάλα καὶ ἡ περιοχή της»,* vol. B, Thessalonike 1988 (in print), notes 40 and 42. See also J.M.Rogers, G.Köseoglu, *The Topkapi Saray Museum, The Treasury,* Ammersee 1987, pp. 41-42.

6. *Βραβεῖον,* p. 65, line 1252, p. 68, note 2, p. 78, line 1501, p. 80, line 1544, p. 88, line 1711.

7. For Panagos, see fig. 43; for Gerasimos, fig. 3; for Ioannis the Peloponnesian, Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρά,* p. 30, fig. 50; for the partners from the Pontus, Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 47, no.96 (β) and p. 64 no. 138.

8. *Βραβεῖον,* p. 126, lines 2667-2669, and Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 82, no. 199 and p. 83 no. 206.

9. Diehl, *Le Trésor,* pp. 491-494 and 511-514; Ch.Astruc, «L'inventaire dressé en septembre 1200 du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos. Edition diplomatique», *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981), Hommage à P.Lemerle, pp. 20-22.
10. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα,* p. 82 and note 1.

PAGE 224
1. *MM*, p. 232.
2. *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 27-28.
3. *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 45-48, no. 2, plates 78, 79, and pp. 44-45, no. 1, pls. 1, 77.
4. Jacopi, *Le Miniature,* part III, pp. 581-583, codex 67, 75, 79-81, 84, 274, figs. 30, 31, 59, 60, 66, 70, 75, 78, 135.
5. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 93, no. 250. The reading of the date should probably be 7976, not 7996, in which case the year of the dedication is 1468, not 1488
6. For the relations of the Romanian princes with Mount Athos see M.Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, I.R.Mircea, loc. cit., p. 265. The Zographos Monastery, in particular, was the «Lavra» of the principality of Moldavia from about the middle of the 15th century. Stephen the Great gave it considerable support, and in addition to the flabella dedicated a valuable labarum there (G.Cioran, *Σχέσεις τῶν ρουμανικῶν χωρῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἄθω καὶ δὴ τῶν Μονῶν Κουτλουμουσίου, Λαύρας, Δοχειαρίου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος ἢ τῶν Ρώσων,* Athens 1938, Texte und Forschungen zur Byz.-Neugr. Philologie, no. 25, p. 41).
7. O.Tafrali, *Le trésor byzantin et roumain du Monastère de Poutna,* Paris 1925, p. 14, no. 33, pl. IX and C.Nicolescu, *Arta metalelor pretioase in Romanie,* Bucharest 1973, p. 55, no. 86, fig. 106.
8. A.Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du Moyen Âge,* Venice 1975, p. 12 and pp. 60-72, nos. 32-41, figs. 68-87 and 89-97; A.N. Svirin, *Juvelirnoe Iskusstvo Drevnej Rusi XI–XVII vekov* (Gold - and Silversmithing of old Russia from the 11th to the 17th century), Moscow 1972, p. 84-91, no. 36-39.
9. A.Frolow, «Les émaux de l'époque post-byzantine et l'art du cloisonné», *Cahiers Archéologiques* II (1947) 134-135.
10. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα,* pp. 92-114 passim.
11. Chr. Maltezou, «Τὰ λατινικὰ ἔγγραφα τοῦ Πατμιακοῦ ἀρχείου», *Σύμμεικτα* 2 (1970) 352-353.
12. G.Hofmann, «Patmos und Rom», *Orientalia Christiana,* vol. XI-2, no. 41, Rome 1928, pp. 48-55 passim.

PAGE 225
1. L.Mortari, «La croce nell'oreficeria del Lazio dal Medioevo al Rinascimento», *Rivista dell' Istituto Nationale d'Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte,* S.III, II, (1979) 336, figs. 239-240. On the knot of the cross there are broad leaves in relief, similar to the leaves found in chalices from Italy and Dalmatia, mainly from the 15th century (L.Mortari, loc. cit., p. 294, fig. 140, p. 299, fig. 152 and p. 300, fig. 153, and D.Diana, N.Gogala, S.Matijević, *Riznica splitske katedrale (The Treasure owned by the Cathedral in the city of Split), Split 1972, figs. 1, 3, 6).* A second processional cross belonging to the Monastery, very similar to the one discussed here, though not of the same quality, has oblique, lance-shaped incised leaves on the knot.
2. L.Mortari, loc. cit., p. 338, figs. 247-248.
3. Ch.Koutelakis concludes from the coat of arms that the icon was given a silver revetment between 1467 and 1476, when Pierre d' Aubusson was Grand Master (Ch.Koutelakis, «Οἰκόσημα ἀπὸ τὰ Δωδεκάνησα σὲ τέμπλα καὶ εἰκόνες», *Δελτίον Ἑραλδικῆς καὶ Γενεαλογικῆς Ἑταιρείας Ἑλλάδος* 4 (1984) 97-101, fig. 3.
4. *Icons of Patmos,* p. 61-62, no. 11, plate 80.
5. The polygonal foot makes its appearance in the church silverware of central Europe about 1300; it was common in the first half of the 14th century, though there are also examples of it from the 15th century (J.M.Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa,* Munich 1982, p. 146). With specific reference to censers, J.Braun places the appearance of the polygonal foot at the end of the 14th century; with regard to the Gothic decoration, he observes that in some cases this continues to be found even in the late 16th century (J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung,* Munich 1973 (reprint of the 1932 edition), pp. 623-624. The figures attached to the body, and the folded form of the foot, the opening of the firepot, and of the lower part of the lid also occur in a censer with much simpler gothic features in the church of the Panayia Diasozousa in Chora.
6. *Βραβεῖον,* p. 3, lines 57-58, and *MM*, pp. 416-418.
7. For the stamping of silver in Venice, see S.J.A.Churchill, *The Goldsmiths of Italy,* New York 1979 (reprint of the 1926 edition), p. 135. The presence on an object of the stamp of Venice, the lion of Saint Mark, does not invariably mean that the work in question was made by Venetian craftsmen, if we take into account the great mobility of the goldsmiths.
8. G.Mariacher, *Argenti italiani,* Milan 1965, p. 21 and 28.
9. The Greek term «livanotos» is used on Patmos to mean the incense box held by the deacon in certain ceremonies; today it is used empty. The «livanotos» may have the shape of a boat, as in this case, of a box (fig. 16), or of a chalice. For the probable origin of the name, see Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, «Ἀργυρὰ ἀντικείμενα τοῦ Μουσείου Μετσόβου», *Ἐθνογραφικά* 1 (1978) 115-116. For the incense box in the shape of a boat, a form found only in the western Church, see J.Braun, op. cit., pp. 634 and 640.
10. For similar masks on a Venetian vessel of the 16th century, see N.Boschian, *Gli argenti italiani,* Milan 1966, p. 87, fig. 37. For similar stamps on Venetian vessels of the 16th century see *Oro di Venezia, 6a mostra dell'oreficeria, gioielleria, argenteria; collezione di antiche filigrane, dalla Cina a Venezia,* Venice, Ca' Vendramin Calergi, 30 Oct.-13 Nov. 1983, pp. 177 and 185.
11. M.Chatzidakis, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la Collection de l'Institut,* Venice 1962, p. 148 and *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art,* pp. 101-104, no. 101.

PAGE 226
1. C.Hernmark, *The Art of the European Silversmith 1430-1830,* London 1977, vol. I, pp. 46-48.
2. J.Braun, op. cit., p. 142. In recent years, at least, this chalice has been used to hold the skull of Saint Antypas during the procession of the icons on the Tuesday after Easter (A. Marava-Chatzinikolaou, *Patmos,* Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes, Athens 1957, pl. CXII, fig. 193).
3. A.Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix,* Paris 1965, pp. 128-133.
4. For similarities with comparable works, see G. Čubinašvili, *Georgian repoussé work VIIIth to XVIIIth centuries. A Selection of Half–Ton Plates with Annotations and an Essay on the Developmental History of the Art,* Tiflis 1957, plates 137 and 175; G. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstro (Georgian chiselled work),* Tiflis, 1959, pl. 534 and Ch. Amiranashvili, *L'art des ciseleurs géorgiens,* Prague 1971, p. 154.
5. G.Abramishvili, «Georgian Jewellery and Metalwork in the Middle Ages», *Jewellery and Metalwork in the Museums of Georgia,* Leningrad 1986, figs. 226-229 and G.Čubinašvili, *Georgian repoussé work,* op. cit., p. 12.
6. Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1987,* pp. 13-16 and *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 27-32.
7. This feature is also found in Seljuk and Ottoman lighting devices. See *The Anatolian Civilisations, III, Seljuk/Ottoman,* Catalogue of an exhibition at the Topkapi Museum, 22 May-30 October 1983, Istanbul 1983, p. 75, no. D.138 and p. 76, no. D.141; J.Allan, «Metalwork, Copper, Brass and Steel», (Y. Petsopoulos ed.), *Tulips, Arabesques and Turbans,* London 1982, figs. 19, 20, 52.
8. See Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, «Ἀργυρὰ ἀντικείμενα τοῦ Μουσείου Μετσόβου», loc. cit., p. 111, fig. 1, where the earlier bibliography is given. See also *The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., p. 166, no. E.92, p. 169, no. E.95. and p. 239, no. E.211, and Metropolitan I.Kleomvrotos, *Mytilena Sacra, A, Ἡ Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ὑψηλοῦ,* Thessalonike 1970, p. 116, fig. p. 121.
9. A similar motif, and geometrical interlacing are used to decorate a bowl in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin (N.T.Ölcer, «Türkische Metallkunst», *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit,* 2, Recklinghausen 1985, p. 288, nos. 6/11) and an Iznik plate in the British Museum, London (J.Zick-Nissen, «Keramik», *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit,* 2, Recklinghausen 1985, p. 146, nos. 2/17).
10. The stamp is quite badly damaged and it is not clear whether it is a tuğra. For the meaning of the term «sah» see above, note 5 of p. 223.
11. See J.Allan, *Islamic Metalwork. The Nuhad Es-Said Collection,* London 1982, pp. 110-112, no. 25.

12. *The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., p. 166, no. E.92 and p. 239, no. E.211.
13. *The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., p. 131, no. E.39 and J.Raby, «Metalwork, Silver and Gold», (Y.Petsopoulos ed.), *Tulips, Arabesques and Turbans,* London 1982, p. 25, fig. 7d. It is thought that objects made in more precious materials acted as models for pottery.
14. J.Raby, loc. cit., pp. 25-27.
15. *Βραβεῖον,* p. 19, lines 389-390; Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 13, no. 10; The nun Anthousa, *Ἱ. Κ. Μονὴ «Εὐαγγελισμὸς Μ. Ἠ.» καὶ τὰ γύρω καθίσματα,* Athens 1986, pp. 79-104.

PAGE 227

1. For the geometric interlacing see fig. 12 and J.Allan, «Metalwork, Cooper, Brass and Steel», loc. cit., p. 44, no. 22. For the floral interlacing see J.Raby, loc. cit., p. 48, no. 51. For the floral settings see *The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., pp. 236-241, nos. E. 207-E.212.
2. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 18, no. 21.
3. For oil-lamps of a similar shape, see C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria laică şi religioasă în ţările române (sec. XIV-XIX),* Bucharest 1968, p. 241, figs. 185-186 and p. 246, fig. 189 and M.Šakota, *Dećanska riznica* (The treasury of the Dećani Monastery), Belgrade 1984, p. 258, figs. 102 and 108.
4. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 21, nos. 28 and 29. The third object is kept in the Cave of the Revelation.
5. For the distinction between crosses «of blessing» and crosses «of sanctification» see Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρά,* op. cit., pp. 16-18. In the archive, crosses with metal mountings are called «enkomiasmenoi», and enamelled crosses are described as having «smardoi» (enamel). The term «cross of sanctification» is used as early as 1735.
6. Wood-carving seems to have been an important field of miniature carving from the end of the 15th century onwards, the more important centres of production being Mount Athos, and probably also other monastic centres of the Balkans. For the evolution of the woodcarving, see B. Radojković, *Les objets sculptés d'art mineur en Serbie ancienne,* Belgrade 1977.
7. B.Radojkovic, *Les objets sculptés,* op. cit., p. 51.
8. B.Radojković, «Krstovi u emalju XVI i XVII veka», *Muzej Primenjene Umetnosti, Zbornik* (Enamel crosses of the 16th and 17th century, Museum of Decorative Arts, Collection), 1, Belgrade 1955, p. 65, fig. 9, p. 67, fig. 10, p. 77, fig. 16, p. 81, fig. 20. See also a cross from a Herzegovina workshop (D. Milovanović, *Masterpieces of Serbian Goldsmith's Work, 13th-18th Century,* Catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1981, p. 47, fig. 74).
9. A.Xyngopoulos, *Συλλογὴ Ἑλένης Ἀ. Σταθάτου, Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν εἰκόνων, τῶν ξυλογλύπτων καὶ τῶν μεταλλικῶν ἔργων τῶν Βυζαντινῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν χρόνων,* Athens 1951, p. 39, no. 27, pl. 23. See also two unpublished crosses in the treasury of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos.
10. The animals are usually lions, though in this case they are very formalized. For similar ones, see L.Boura, «Δύο βυζαντινὰ μανουάλια ἀπὸ τὴ Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως τῶν Μετεώρων», *Βυζαντινά* 5 (1973) 138-139, plates 1,7. See also pls. 13-15.
11. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 86, no. 218.
12. Similar enamel decoration with western influences can be found in a wall-clock in the Topkapi Museum (*The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., p. 263, no. E.268). The Patmos cross has both filigree and «champlevé» enamel techniques; the arms have finials in the form of tulips. «Champlevé» enamel of the same type in floral decoration with western influence can be found in a cross of 1687 in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (inv. no. T388).
13. Metropolitan I.Kleomvrotos, op. cit., vol. A, p. 114, fig. p. 115. These may be the earliest examples of small-scale crosses with a foot; from the dated crosses so far known, the foot seems to have become predominant from the beginning of the 18th century.
14. S.Papadopoulos, «Νεοφύτου τοῦ Στ΄ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔγγραφα καὶ ἀφιερώματα πρὸς τὴν Ἱ. Μονὴν Ἰωάννου Πάτμου», loc. cit., pp. 230-232, plates LXXXIV-LXXXVI.
15. The surface around the flowers has been removed. For a similar technique, see *The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., p. 269, no. E.276.

PAGE 228

1. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 19, no. 22.
2. See the staff of Parthenios of Caesarea in the Benaki Museum (1738). The shaft is almost the same as that of Dionysios IV, but the head, despite the striking similarities, is not of the same quality (M.Chatzidakis, «Μουσεῖο Μπενάκη», *Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ Μουσεῖα,* Athens 1974, p. 391, fig. 29). The staff of Neophytos, Metropolitan of Adrianoupolis (1644-1688) in the Byzantine Museum, is equally impressive (M.Chatzidakis, «Βυζαντινὸ Μουσεῖο», *Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ Μουσεῖα,* Athens 1974, p. 357, fig. 31).
3. I.Nenarokomova, Y.Sisov, *Art Treasures from the Museums of the Moscow Kremlin,* Moscow 1980, fig. 38.
4. M.Chatzidakis, «Bijoux des XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles rehaussés d'émail et de pierreries», *Collection H.Stathatos, Les objets byzantins et post-byzantins,* Limoges 1957, p. 70 and I.M.Suslov, «Moskovskaja emal, XVIIv.», *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* (Moscow enamels of the 17th century, Soviet Archaeology) 2 (1960) 212.
5. I.Nenarokomova, Y.Sisov, op. cit., fig. 4.
6. Priests who held high office usually bequeathed their best hierarchical dress and the symbols of their office to one of the important Orthodox centres with which they had specially close ties.
7. S.Papadopoulos, «Neophytos VI», loc. cit., pp. 223-224 and 226-229.
8. P.Zerlentis, op. cit., pp. 160-170.
9. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 15, no. 14^2; *Βραβεῖον,* p. 31, lines 600-601, note 4.
10. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 29, no. 43^2; *Βραβεῖον,* p. 44, lines 845-847, note 3.
11. Codex 1001, fol. 176^v-177^r (15.9.1697); Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 47, no. 96, *Βραβεῖον,* p. 45, lines 852-853; Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 46 no. 91; *Βραβεῖον,* p. 50, lines 952-954, note 6.
12. *Βραβεῖον,* p. 42, lines 814-816, note 7.
13. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές,* p. 24, no. 33.
14. C.Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 138-141, vol. II, figs. 280, 281, 285; A.Gruber, *L'Argenterie de maison du XVIe au XIXe siècle»,* Freiburg (Switzerland) 1982, pp. 218-222, fig. 320 and fig. p. 21. See also *German Domestic Silver of the Eighteenth Century,* Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1965, fig. 1.

PAGE 229

1. Similar stamps have been identified by M. Rosenberg on the door of Saint Anthony in Padua (1716, 1718), which at that date was under Venetian sovereignty (M.Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen,* Frankfurt/M. 1922-1928, vol. IV, pp. 372-373). See also, C.Nicolescu, Argintăria, op. cit. p. 54 (Venice, no. 3, 1708), and an oil lamp dated 1710 in the Panayia tou Kastrou on Symi. In 1703 two other lamps came from Venice, similar to the one presented here; they were dedicated by the former abbot Germanos Kanakis and Mitrophanis Michalopos (*Βραβεῖον,* p. 46, lines 884-886, note 4; see above note 11 of p. 228).
2. C.Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 51-53 and 57-59, vol. II, fig. 742. See also *Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1500-1700,* Catalogue of an exhibition at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurenberg, 28 June-15 September 1985, pp. 300-302, nos. 179, 183-184, 186 and pp. 306-307, nos. 206-210; also H.Müller, *European Silver, The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,* London 1986, pp. 206-207.
3. Codex 1001, fol. 26^v and file 70, Zakynthos. This icon is possibly one of the dedications by Agathangelos of Karyoupolis, also named «Latinos» (see below, p. 232).
4. This is one of the most widely disseminated types of Russian icons of the Virgin; it owes its name to the city at which the original icon, found in 1579, was kept (L.Ouspensky, V. Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons,* New York 1983, p. 88, fig. 87).
5. T.Goldberg, F.Mišukov, N.Platonova, M.M. Postnikova-Loseva, *Russkoe zolotoe i serebrjanoe delo XV-XX vekov* (Russian silverware, 15th-20th centuries), Moscow 1967, p. 116. See also A. von Solodkoff, *Orfèvrerie russe du XVIIe au XIXe siècle,* Freiburg (Switzerland) 1981, pp. 120-121.
6. A.Frolow, *Les reliquaires,* op. cit., pp. 138, 141. See also a cross in the Benaki Museum (B.Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten, Museum Benaki, Athen,* Athens 1938, p. 202, no. 363, plate 63).

7. M.M.Postnikova-Loseva, *Russkoe Juvelirnoe Iskusstvo, ego centry i mastera* (Russian silverware, centres and craftsmen), Moscow 1974, p. 71. V.Antonova, *Drevnerusskoe Iskusstvo v sobranii Pavla Korina* (Old Russian art in the Pavel Korin collection), Moscow 1966, pp. 126-127, no. 103, fig. 122.
8. The Kremlin workshops were housed in the Armoury and formed one of the two associations of the Moscow goldsmiths in the 17th century (A. von Solodkoff, op. cit., p. 18). For similar objects, see V.Antonova, op. cit., p. 81, figs. 95-97, M.M.Postnikova-Loseva, op. cit., fig. p. 125 and fig. p. 128 and *Trésors des Musées du Kremlin,* Catalogue of an exhibition at the Grand Palais, Paris, 12 October 1979-14 January 1980, p. 120, no. 33 and 121, no. 37 (fig. pp. 88-89). These last plaques bear traces of colour (enamel?).
9. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 49, lines 925-926, note 1.
10. A.Marava-Chatzinikolaou, op. cit., plate CXIII, fig. 195.
11. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 27, no. 38.
12. C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria,* op. cit., p. 269, no. 327, fig. 208. See also a similar network in Ottoman bindings of the 16th century (*The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., pp. 230-232 and 234-235, nos. E.200, E.201, E.204).
13. C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria,* op. cit., p. 51, no. 22 and pp. 28-29.

PAGE 230

1. C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria,* op. cit., pp. 305-306, nos. 351-352, figs. 244-245, p. 308, no. 356, fig. 249, and p. 319, no. 361, fig. 259.
2. For Georg May II, see C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria,* op. cit., pp. 28-29, where reference is made to the Patmos Gospel book. For similar Gospel books made by the same craftsman, see C.Nicolescu, op. cit., pp. 310-313, nos. 357, 358, figs. 250-253. For other works by Georg May II, see C.Nicolescu, op. cit, e.g. figs. 75, 77, 78, 98, 100, 102, 103, 105, 193 and C. Nicolescu, *Arta Metalelor,* op. cit., pp. 22, 23, 30.
3. Benaki Museum, Gospel book of the community of Armenian-speaking Greeks of Egin, with an Armenian inscription and the date 1791 (?) (no. T.A. 516); binding of a Gospel book of 1793 in the Monastery of the Taxiarchai in Aegialia (P.Zora, «Ἀργυροχοΐα», *Νεοελληνικὴ Χειροτεχνία* (ed. S.A. Papadopoulos), National Bank of Greece, Athens 1969, fig. 227; binding of a Gospel book of 1809 in the Monastery of the Evangelistria at Ano Soudena, Epiros (P.Vokotopoulos, «Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα Ἠπείρου», *ΑΔ* 21 (1966), Χρονικά, pp. 306-307, plate 315).
4. C.Nicolescu, Argintăria, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
5. C.Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 121-125, vol. II, figs. 207-228. At the period at which these vessels made their appearance, beer, consumed slightly warm, was the only drink of the bourgeoisie. In the 18th century, it became *de rigueur* to drink tea, coffee and chocolate, with the result that silver beer tankards fell out of fashion; from this time on, they were made of glass. Small silver tankards were intended for women and were usually a gift by the husband to his wife on the birth of the first child, since it was reputed that beer encouraged lactation (A.Gruber, op. cit., pp. 75-79, fig. 70-76).
6. C.Nicolescu, *Arta Metalelor,* op. cit., figs. 20-24.
7. C.Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 46-49.
8. J.Bielz, *L'art des orfèvres saxons de Transylvanie,* Bucharest 1957, p. 19, figs. 14-15 and C.Nicolescu, *Arta metalelor*, op. cit., figs. 16-19.

PAGE 231

1. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 30, no. 49.
2. For a similar motif, see *Wenzel Jamnitzer,* op. cit., p. 299, no. 117.
3. Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρά*, op. cit., p. 30, fig. 50 and p. 32, fig. 52.
4. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 58, lines 1111-1112, note 3.
5. For a similar censer, see C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, op. cit., p. 222, no. 238, fig. 167. See also below, fig. 16. For the floral decoration see below. The censer has a tuğra.
6. Codex 1004, fol. 5^{v}.
7. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 56, lines 1083-1084, note 3.
8. Codex 1001, fol. 26^{v}.
9. In 1700, Peter the Great made it compulsory to stamp silver objects throughout Russia, and not merely in Moscow as hitherto, and introduced the system of stamps that bore the initials of the maker. After 1730, it became the general practice to include the date in the stamp, and to use Arabic numerals (M.M. Postnikova-Loseva, op. cit., pp. 247-250 and A. von Solodkoff, op. cit., pp. 157-166). On the Patmos reliquary, the stamp of the city of Moscow, the double-headed eagle, resembles those of the second decade of the 18th century; the second stamp indicates the initials of the craftsman (they have not been identified in relevant lists), or possibly, though less likely, the date it was made (1718?).

PAGE 232

1. For similar works, see *Wenzel Jamnitzer,* op. cit., p. 314, no. 229; I.Nenarokomova, Y.Sizov, op. cit., fig. 37; C.Ja. Kovarskaja, I.D.Kostina, E.V.Šakurova, *Russkoe serebro XIV-načala XX veka iz fondov Gosudarstvennykh museov Moskovskogo Kremlja* (Russian Silver of the Fourteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries from the Moscow Kremlin Reserves), Moscow 1984, p. 62, no. 54 and Z.A.Bernjakovič, *Russkoe khudožestvennoe serebro XVII – načala XX veka v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža* (Russian Silver wares of the XVIIth – the beginning of the XXth century in the State Hermitage collection), Leningrad 1977, fig. 19. This same style was common in Moscow until the middle of the 18th century (A. von Solodkoff, op. cit., p. 26).
2. C.Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 58 and 245, vol. II, fig. 664.
3. File no. 70 (Zakynthos).
4. A.B.Banck, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR,* Leningrad-Moscow 1966, figs. 159, 163, 170; J.Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople,* London 1961, fig. 97, 102; S.Pelekanidis, P.Christou, Chr.Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, E.Kadas, *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα,* Athens 1973, vol. A, fig. 295.
5. The footrest in the form of a cushion makes its appearance in the middle of the 11th century (I.Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts,* Leiden 1976, p. 264). For representations of emperors from the late Byzantine period see I.Spatharakis, op. cit., figs. 38, 39, 108-110, 134. For a representation of archangels from the same period see K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illuminations,* Chicago 1971, fig. 146.
6. For similar jewellery, see *Ornemantistes du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Gravures et dessins*, 14th Exhibition of the Edmond de Rothschild collection, Louvre, Paris, 12th June-21st September 1987, p. 81, no. 112. For the arrangement of the stones and the mounting on the reverse side, in particular, see also a Spanish pendant from the end of the 17th century (*Jewellery through 7000 years,* Exhibition catalogue, London 1976, p. 186, no. 304).
7. Examples are to be found in Orthodox treasuries such as that of the Monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos and in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.
8. A.Frolow, «Emaux cloisonnés de l'époque post-byzantine», *Cahiers Archéologiques* I (1945) 94-95. See also M.Chatzidakis, «Bijoux des XVIe, XVIIe», loc. cit., p. 71, which confirms Frolow's view with regard to the origins and use of painted enamel in Russia.
9. N.V.Kaljazina, G.N.Gomelova, N.D.Kostočkina, O.G.Kostjuk, K.A.Orlova, *Russkaja emal' XII-načala XX veka iz sobranija Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža* (Russian enamel from the 12th to the beginning of the 20th cent. in the Hermitage collection), Leningrad 1987, fig. 62 and M.M.Postnikova-Loseva, op. cit., fig. p. 149.
10. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 22, no. 30.

PAGE 233

1. These pattern books circulated in Western Europe from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, originally in Holland, and later in Germany and France. See Y.Hackenbroch, *Smalti e gioielli dal XV al XIX secolo, Museo Nationale del Bargello,* Florence 1986, pp. 71-72 and 74-75. See also *Ornemantistes,* op. cit., p. 80, no. 110 and *Wenzel Jamnitzer,* op. cit., p. 401, no. 482.
2. *The Anatolian Civilisations,* op. cit., p. 263, no. E.268, pp. 265-6, nos. E.270 and E.271, pp. 268-9, no. E.275. See also fig. 13 above. The same decorative conception was predominant in Constantinopolitan embroideries of this period (A.Chatzinikolaou, «Κεντητική», *Νεοελληνικὴ Χειροτεχνία* (ed. S.Papadopoulos), National Bank of Greece, Athens 1969, fig. 184). M.Chatzidakis also attributes to Constantinople a number of objects in the Stathatos collection that combine precious stones on one side with enamel on the

other, like the enkolpion of Parthenios of Caesarea (1738) (M.Chatzidakis, «Bijoux des XVIe, XVIIe», p. 71, no. 3, plate XIII, a. See also nos. 81, 82, plate XI and no. 107, plate XIII). See also S.Antoniadis, «Πλοῦτος τοῦ ἀστικοῦ πληθυσμοῦ τῆς Κρήτης πρὶν ἀπ' τὸ 1669. Χρυσοχοΐα», *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητικολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. B (1968), plate B.

3. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 71, lines 1353-1354, note 3.

4. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 35, no. 64.

5. S. Papadopoulos, «Neophytos VI», loc. cit., pp. 223-224, 229 and 235-237, plates LXXXIII and LXXXIV.

6. S.Papadopoulos, «Neophytos VI», loc. cit., p. 226-229.

7. P.Zerlentis, op. cit., pp. 160-170. By 1891, the mitre had already been linked with Neophytos VI: Dmitrievskij refers to it as «the mitre of the Patriarch Neophytos» (A.Dmitrievskij, op. cit., p. 200).

8. N.V.Kaljazina et al., op. cit., pp. 16-17.

9. N.V.Kaljazina et al., op. cit., figs. 13-15, 17-18 and 22, and also *Trésors des Musées du Kremlin*, op. cit., fig. 80.

10. O.Tafrali, op. cit., p. 6, no. 9, plate VII. In the Helen Stathatos collection (A.Xyngopoulos, op. cit., p. 40, no. 28, plate 23) there is a similar cross with small receptacles for sacred relics in the arms, which is also a feature of the Patmos cross. See also another cross of this type dated 1707 in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos (S.Pelekanidis et al., op. cit., vol. B, fig. p. 18.

PAGE 234

1. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 32, no. 52.

2. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 59, lines 1142-1143, note 7.

3. Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1987*, pp. 21-4.

4. S.Papadopoulos, «Neophytos VI», loc. cit., pp. 226 and 240-242, plates LXXXVII and LXXXVIII. For the spelling «πολυέλεος», see P.N.Trembelas, «Πολυέλεος», *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 20 (1932) pp. 486-487.

5. Precious objects were the second most important item imported by Pothitos Xenos (1768-1800), and brought the greatest profit. From the record books of this same merchant it can be deduced that Italy was the main supplier of a group of women's jewellery (S.Asdrachas, op. cit., pp. 98, 269-270 and 318).

6. The monastery possesses another of his works, a pair of candlesticks (1748). The rest of his works, all of them the revetments of icons, are to be found in churches in Chora: in Ayios Vasilios (Ayia Matrona the Chiopolitis, 1737) in Panayia ton Kimitirion (Virgin and Child, 1737), in the Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi (icon of the same name, 1738) and in Panayia Eleimonitria (icon of the same name, 1749).

7. For information on the activities of the Cretan goldsmiths of the 16th and 17th centuries, see M.Konstandoudaki, «Μαρτυρίες ζωγραφικῶν ἔργων στὸ Χάνδακα (16-17 αἰ.)», *Θησαυρίσματα* 12 (1975) 70-74.

8. E.Frangakis, «The 'Raya' Communities of Smyrna in the 18th Century (1690–1820). Demography and economic activities», *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου Ἱστορίας: Νεοελληνικὴ πόλη, ὀθωμανικὲς κληρονομιὲς καὶ ἑλληνικὸ κράτος*, Athens, 26-28 September 1984, Hermoupolis, 29-30 September 1984, vol. A, Athens 1985, pp. 27-42.

9. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 64, note 1.

PAGE 235

1. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 38, note 71.

2. For Byzantine candlesticks, see L.Boura, loc. cit., pp. 134-136. For western candlesticks from the 16th century onwards, see J.Braun, op. cit., pp. 518-521 and 526-527 and C.Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 336-337.

3. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 69, lines 1324-1325 and Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 47, nos. 94-95.

4. Cf. a similar Venetian pair dated 1720 (G.Mariacher, op. cit., plate 172). There is a large collection of Venetian candlesticks of this type in the cathedral of Split (D.Diana et. al., op. cit., pp. 106-123, figs. 57, 58). See also another Venetian pair, dating from 1769, in S.Petkovic, *Manastir Sveta Trojica kod Pljevalja* (The monastery of Ayia Triada near Pljevalja), Belgrade 1974, p. 116, fig. 66.

5. G.Mariacher, op. cit., plate 167b. The fact that candlesticks of this type were made in Smyrna is confirmed by the codex of the Panachrantou Monastery on Andros, which notes: «1739, September 30 there came the former abbot and priest kyr Iakovos Karamanos from Smyrna and brought ... four silver candlesticks 370 piastres ...» (D.Paschalis, «Ἡ ἐν Ἄνδρῳ μονὴ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου», *Θεολογία* ΚΕ΄ (1954) 120. One of these two pairs is still to be found in Panachrantou Monastery today. It was dedicated by the former abbot Iakovos himself, and is dated 1739.

6. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 69, lines 1315-1317, note 5.

7. Metropolitan I.Kleomvrotos, op. cit., vol. Γ, plate 7. See also Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρὰ Νέας Καρβάλης*, loc. cit., one chalise dated 1768. From the Renaissance on, angels heads and floral motifs also adorned Italian chalices (*Oro di Venezia*, op. cit., fig. p. 185 and A.Griseri, *Oreficeria del Rinascimento*, Novara 1986, fig. p. 36). For the inscription on the Patmos chalice, see Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 45, no. 89.

8. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 46, no. 92.

9. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 52, no. 108.

10. P.Kritikos, «Πατμιακὰ τοπωνύμια», *Δωδεκανησιακὸ Ἀρχεῖο* 2 (1956) 114. For the former abbot Parthenios Chatzikos, see *Βραβεῖον*, p. 81, lines 1570-1571, note 2.

11. The floral lozenges at the right side are a very common Rococo motif (G.Mariacher, op. cit., plate 176). Cf. a similar motif on the revetment of the icon of the Zoodochos Pigi (*Icons of Patmos*, plate 162, fig. 109).

PAGE 236

1. The two stamps other than that of the city of Venice are similar to two of the stamps of the censer, fig. 16.

2. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 46, no. 90(β).

3. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 46, no. 90(α).

4. For Byzantine boxes in the shape of churches, see *Le trésor de Saint-Marc de Venise*, Catalogue of an exhibition in the Grand Palais (Paris), Milan 1984, pp. 237-243, no. 32. For similar boxes in Romania, see C.Nicolescu, *Arta metalelor*, op. cit., p. 89 and, mainly, 90; M-A.Musicescu-Berza, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*, Bucharest 1958, p. 176, fig. 142.

5. B.Radojkovic, *Srpsko Zlatarstvo XVI i XVII veka* (Serbian gold and silversmithing of the 16th and 17th centuries), Novi Sad 1966, figs. 52, 91-94, 192, and, mainly, 58, 88-90 and M.Šakota, *Riznica Manastira Banje kod Priboja* (The Treasury of the Banja Monastery at Priboj), Belgrade 1981, p. 47, fig. 11.

6. M.Šakota believes that the origins of the Patmos type boxes are to be sought in the workshops of Transylvania (M.Šakota, op. cit., pp. 50-51). For another box of this type, see Johann Georg Herzog zu Sachsen, *Das Katharinenkoster am Sinai*, Leipzig-Berlin 1912, plate IX, fig. 24.

7. Similar features, i.e. degenerated Gothic elements and flowers, also occur on unpublished boxes in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. A pair of these has a number of similarities with the Patmos box, and also has a representation of Saint James the Lord's Brother, the first bishop of Jerusalem. It is not impossible that the Jerusalem and Patmos boxes have a common origin, since Iakovos Anastasiou had connections with Jerusalem, where he founded a school in 1737, at which he also taught.

8. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 71, lines 1351-1352, note 2 and Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 44, no. 86.

9. See similar crosses in the Benaki Museum (A.Delivorrias, *Ὁδηγὸς τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη*, Athens 1980, p. 61, fig. 51) and the Nea Karvali collection (Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρὰ Νέας Καρβάλης*, loc. cit., note 31), where crosses of this type are discussed at greater length. See also a cross in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (no. 1735), which is of poorer quality, however, without serpents, and with stylised flowers only in the corners; it is dated to 1771.

10. For Daniel of Sebasteia, see *Βραβεῖον*, p. 91, lines 1761-1764, note 1.

11. D.Kallimachos, «Πατμιακῆς Βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα», *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 17 (1918) 223.

PAGE 237

1. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 56, no. 116.

2. For the Gikas family, see M.Sturdza, *Grandes familles de Grèce. Dictionnaire historique et généalogique*, Paris 1983, p. 297.

3. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 60, no. 125.

4. C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, op. cit., pp. 247-256, figs. 190-199.

5. In addition to relations with the principalities of Romania, and direct or indirect contacts with the West (craftsmen, drawings, objects), the influences should be investigated of engravings with a religious content, and the

role played by Russia, via the Black Sea. See, e.g., Russian objects of the 18th century (Z.A.Bernjakovič, op. cit., p. 27) and bindings of Gospel books of the same century from the Pontus, in the Benaki Museum (Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρά*, op. cit., p. 5, fig. 5).

6. D.Kallimachos, loc. cit., p. 223. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 91, lines 1761-1764, note 1.

7. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 61, no. 128.

8. C.Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, op. cit., p. 299, no. 346, fig. 238 and an unpublished Gospel book binding in the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, the work of the goldsmith E. V. from Brasov (1680-1685?) (C.Nicolescu, op. cit., p. 49, no. 7).

9. *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 108-111.

10. Papadopoulos, *Patmos 1987*, pp. 24-9.

11. A.Vakalopoulos, «Στροφὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς Ρώσους», *IEE*, vol. IA, pp. 58-96 passim.

12. Monumental artophoria in the shape of churches are not rare; they are sometimes of silver and sometimes of wood, painted or covered with plaques of mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell (*Εἰδικὴ Ἔκθεση Κειμηλίων προσφύγων*, Byzantine Museum, November 1982, Athens 1982, pp. 57-58, nos. 76-77 and p. 92, no. 160, and also Metropolitan I.Kleomvrotos, op. cit., vol. B, p. 380, plate 12.

13. See previous note.

14. The spiraliform or diagonally oriented plant stem is a feature of Rococo. Cf. examples given by A.Gruber, op. cit., pp. 114-115, figs. 135, 138 and *The Anatolian Civilisations*, p. 306, no. E.345 and p. 311, no. E.359.

PAGE 238

1. Open flowers, either singly or arranged in compositions, are also popular motifs in Rococo (G.Schade, *Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst: ein Überblick über die kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Entwicklung der deutschen Gold- und Silberschmiedekunst vom Mittelalter bis zum beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert*, Hanau 1974, fig. 83 and H.Müller, op. cit., p. 235). This motif was widely disseminated from about the middle of the 18th century in Constantinopolitan works of the Easter Aegean and Asia Minor; it continues to be found, in deformed versions, throughout the entire 19th century.

2. *Βραβεῖον*, p. 102, lines 1998-2002, note 1.

3. File 97.

4. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 67, no. 144[2].

5. Z.A.Bernjakovič, op. cit., fig. 106. On Neoclassicism, see C.Hernmarck, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 70-74 and vol. II, fig. 728a. For the influence of Neoclassicism on Greek and Asia Minor silverware, see Y.Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀργυρὰ τῆς Νέας Καρβάλης*, loc. cit.

6. For Athanasios Tzimouris, see P.Zora, *Δύο μεγάλοι μαστόροι τοῦ ἀσημιοῦ: Ἀθανάσιος Τζημούρης, Γεώργιος Διαμάντης Μπάφας*, Athens 1972, pp. 8-26, figs. 1-25.

7. *Βραβεῖον*, pp. 106-107, lines 2123-2126 and Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 75, no. 172.

8. D.Papastratou, *Χάρτινες εἰκόνες, ὀρθόδοξα θρησκευτικὰ χαρακτικά 1965-1899*, Athens 1986, vol. I, p. 71, no. 32.

9. Another, inscribed, undated binding for a Gospel book by Athanasios Tzimouris is preserved in the Olympiotissa Monastery in Elasson. It is one of the complete forms of bindings of this type, with the Crucifixion and Descent into Hell on the front and back respectively, surrounded by the Evangelists, prophets and medallions with scenes from the Dodekaorton. The background is worked with niello. This same monastery possesses a second binding of this type, which originally belonged to the Sparmou Monastery. This is the work of Dimitrios; it is not as carefully worked as those by Tzimouris, but is nevertheless quite well executed. Finally, the Museum of Greek Popular Art in Athens has a matrix with the representation of a prophet (Jeremiah?), for making plaques to adorn this type of Gospel book.

10. The plate has tuğras on the rim. For parallels, see the Benaki Museum, nos. T.A. 712 and T.A. 670.

11. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές*, p. 78, no. 181.

PAGE 239

1. A. von Solodkoff, op. cit., pp. 22 and 177.

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

In the selected bibliographies which follow, reference is given in each case to the description of the manuscript in the first catalogue of the Patmos library, that compiled by J. Sakkelion in 1890, and to that provided by A. Kominis, in his *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices* published in 1970 (in the following Kominis, *Facsimiles*). The bibliography is otherwise limited to works dealing primarily with the miniatures, and does not attempt to provide the reader with codicological or palaeographical references.

The only publication which has dealt specifically with the illustrated manuscripts of the library of Patmos is the article of G. Jacopi, *Le Miniature*, written more than 50 years ago. The authors of this chapter are presently preparing a new study of these manuscripts as a group; their volume will reproduce all the figural miniatures, as well as the ornament of any other manuscripts which can be precisely dated.

THE BOOK OF JOB (Codex 171): Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 90-92. Kominis, *Facsimiles*, no. 2. N. Oikonomides, «Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.: Prix, loyers, imposition (cod. Patmiacus 171)» *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26(1972) 345-356, figs. 1,2. Jacopi, *Le Miniature*, pp. 574-576, 584-591, pls. XV-XXII, figs. 91-128. Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, esp. pp. 49-51, figs. 325-336. *Byzantine Art*, no. 289. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton [2]1970, pp. 120, 250. Grabar, *Manuscrits Enluminés*, esp. pp. 24-25, figs. 37-43. S. Papadaki-Ökland, *The Illustration of Byzantine Job Manuscripts. A Preliminary Study on its Origin and Development*, University of Heidelberg 1979 (doctoral thesis), esp. pp. 194-197. K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus Graecus 923*, Princeton 1979, pp. 112, 115-117. G. Cavallo, «La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria», *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982, pp. 506-507, figs. 451-453. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: the making of an image*, Princeton 1986, p. 86, fig. 22. P. Huber, *Hiob. Dulder oder Rebell? Byzantinische Miniaturen zum Buch Hiob in Patmos, Rom, Venedig, Sinai, Jerusalem und Athos*, Düsseldorf 1986, pp. 61-73. S. Papadaki-Ökland, «Ὁ κώδικας Βατοπεδίου 590 – ἕνα ἀντίγραφο τοῦ Ἰὼβ τῆς Πάτμου», *ΔΧΑΕ* ser. 4, vol. 13 (1985/6) 1988, pp. 17-38.

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A GOSPEL LECTIONARY (Codex 70): Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, p. 52. Jacopi, *Le Miniature*, p. 581, figs. 34-50. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, Paris 1916 (reprinted 1960), pp. 6, 331, 346, 585-586, figs. 298, 364, 615-619. Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, esp. pp. 66-68, figs. 430-437, 440-447. *Byzantine Art*, no. 332. V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin 1967, pp. 176 note 99, 187. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton [2]1970, pp. 113, 132, fig. 99. Grabar, *Manuscrits Enluminés*, esp. p. 53, figs. 52-54, 208-213. G. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, Princeton 1973, pp. 56 (note 2), 59. K. Weitzmann, «An Illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery», *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, Baltimore 1974, pp. 32, 34, figs. 4, 6, reprinted in his *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, London 1980. Chatzinikolaou-Paschou, *Κατάλογος Μικρογραφιῶν* 1, pp. 35, 40, 41, 48, 64.

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THE FOUR GOSPELS (Codex 274): Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, p. 141. Jacopi, *Le Miniature*, pp. 578, 583, figs. 129-135. *Byzantine Art*, no. 315. C. Meredith, «The Illustration of the Codex Ebnerianus: A Study in Liturgical Illustration of the Comnenian Period», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institues* 29 (1966) 419 ff. V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin 1967, p. 253 note 51. J. Anderson, *An Examination of the Twelfth-Century Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production*, Princeton University 1976 (Ph. D. Thesis), esp. pp. 46-52. F. Konstantinou, «Ὁ λειτουργικὸς χαρακτὴρας τῶν μικρογραφιῶν μιᾶς ὁμάδας μεσοβυζαντινῶν τετραευαγγελίων μὲ ἀφορμὴ τὸν κώδικα ἀριθ. 274 τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τῆς Πάτμου», *Δεύτερο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης* (Christian Archaeological Society), Athens 1982, Résumés of Communications, pp. 52-53.

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PAGE 328

1. The classical works on manuscripts are still those of A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*, Paris 1964 (1st ed. 1949) and R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1954.
2. On the Patmos Library, see A.D. Kominis, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι Νέος Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου*, Vol. 1, Athens 1988 (introduction).
3. We may note that there is a large number of documents and printed books in foreign languages, which give a picture of the relations of the Monastery in general (cf. the relevant chapters of this book).

PAGE 329

1. The recent bibliography on the Monastery and the Library is very large.
2. See A.D. Kominis, op. cit., nos. 58-101, and the comments there.
3. Cf. A.D. Kominis, op. cit.: a) Codices 18-30, for Basil. b) Codices 33-45 and the bibliography cited there, for Gregory. c) Codices 128-170, for Chrysostomos; the description of these will be included in vol. II of this work.
4. Cf. the detailed description by M. Naoumidis-P. Nikolopoulos, *Τὰ Κοντακάρια τῆς Πάτμου*, Athens 1954.
5. After this detailed description, the *Kondakaria* of Patmos were used for the publication of the hymns of Romanos the Melodist in the Athens, Oxford and Paris editions.
6. Cf. A.D. Kominis, op. cit., codices 54-55, where the bibliography is to be found.
7. On this very important manuscript of Plato (Oxon. Clarke 39) cf. the comments of I. Sakkelion, *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. ι΄–ια΄, notes 4-5; of the extensive bibliography, see the recent record in E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, I. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens* I-III, Vienna 1981, no. 193, where the bibliography is assembled.
8. See A.D. Kominis, op. cit., codex 50, where the bibliography is to be found.
9. Cf. A.D. Kominis, op. cit., codex 6, where the bibliography is to be found.
10. Cf. F. Halkin, «Un Ménologe de Patmos et ses légendes inédites», *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954) 15-34. This indefatigable Bollandist went on to publish many lives of saints from this Patmian codex.

PAGE 330

1. See Kominis, *Πίνακες*. Id., *Facsimiles of dated Patmian Codices*, Athens 1970.
2. A picture of the development of the branches of palaeography and of modern trends in the field can be derived from the proceedings of the Symposium on the subject held in Paris in 1974: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S. no. 559, Paris 1977.

PAGE 332

1. *MM*, p. 74.

PAGE 333

1. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, nos. 48 and 49.
2. See Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*.
3. See e.q., the comment on imperial document no. 22, Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 222ff.
4. See E. Vranoussi, «Une collection authentiquée d'actes du couvent de Patmos et ses notices dorsales (XI^{e} s.)», *Σύμμεικτα* 2 (1970) 329-348, where the bibliography is to be found.
5. Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, no. 36.

PAGE 334

1. The first volumes have already appeared: *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, Α΄ Αὐτοκρατορικά*, by. E. Vranoussi, Athens 1980; *Β΄ Δημοσίων Λειτουργῶν*, by M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Athens 1980; in preparation: *Γ΄ Ἔγγραφα ἰδιωτικά*, by N. Ikonomidis. For earlier publications, see Vranoussi, *Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 135ff.

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N. Svoronos, «Remarques sur les actes des fonctionnaires», *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S., no. 559, Paris 1977, pp. 423-427.

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E.D. Clarke, *Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, part II, London 1814.
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I. Floridis, «Περὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Χαρτοφύλακος βιογραφικαὶ ἀποσημειώσεις», *Ἐπετηρὶς Παρνασσοῦ* 6 (1902) 66-81.
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Νεώτερο Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Μονῆς Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου: ἡ ἀλληλογραφία Μακαρίου Καλογερᾶ καὶ οἱ κατάλογοι τῶν ἐντύπων τοῦ 1769 καὶ 1872 (unpublished).
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ARCHITECTURE

1. The settlement of Chora on Patmos and the Monastery from the north-west.
2. The Monastery from the north-east.
3. The south side of the Monastery and part of the settlement of Chora.
4. The large escarpment on the south side and a machicolation.
5. The tower and escarpments on the east side.
6. The small church of the Holy Apostles.
7. Part of the main courtyard of the Monastery.
8. The arches-buttresses above the main courtyard. The campanile of the 'tzaphara'.
9. The 'tzaphara', or two-storey portico, on the south side of the main courtyard of the Monastery.
10. Pillars and arches of the portico in front of the katholikon.
11. The arcades of the exonarthex and the portico.
12. View of the exonarthex of the katholikon.
13. The chapel of Hosios Christodoulos. Entrance.
14. The main entrance to the narthex of the katholikon.
15. Katholikon. The iconostasis of 1820.
16. The iconostasis in the katholikon (detail).
17. Floor of the katholikon (detail).
18. The Chapel of Hosios Christodoulos. The marble sarcophagus of the Hosios.
19. The Chapel of the Virgin. The iconostasis (detail).
20. The Chapel of the Virgin. Interior.
21. The Refectory. Interior.
22. The Refectory. The stone slab of the sarcophagus of the protospatharios.
23. The Chapel of the Virgin. The south facade.
24. The Chapel of the Holy Cross.

WALL PAINTINGS

1. The Parable of the Ten Virgins (detail. See also figs. 8, 9, 10).
2. Hosios Christodoulos (detail). Katholikon. c. 1600.
3. A saint (detail). Katholikon. c. 1600.
4. St. John the Theologian dictating to Prochoros. Katholikon. c. 1600.
5. Scenes from the Nativity cycle. Esonarthex of the Katholikon. c. 1600.
6-7. The Slaughter of the Innocents (detail). Esonarthex of the katholikon. c. 1600.
8. The Parable of the Ten Virgins. Esonarthex of the katholikon. c 1600 (See also figs. 1, 9, 10).
9-10. The Five Wise Virgins (details of fig. 8).
11. The Virgin Enthroned with Child (detail). Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
12. Archangel (detail). Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
13-14. Details of fig. 15.
15. The Hospitality of Abraham. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180 (See also figs. 13, 14).
16. The Healing of the Blind Man (detail). Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
17-18. Details of fig. 19.
19. The Meeting of Christ with the Samaritan Woman. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
20. Bust of a saint. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
21. Bust of St. John. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
22. Bust of a saint. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
23. Bust of St. Xenophon. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
24. Unknown Patriarch of Jerusalem (detail). Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
25. St. Sallustius (detail). Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
26. St. James the Brother of the Lord. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
27. St. Makarios. Chapel of the Virgin. 1176-1180.
28. St. Chariton (detail). Refectory. 1176-1180.
29. Saint Ilarion (detail). Refectory. 1176-

1180.
30. The Appearance of Christ at the Sea of Tiberias. Refectory. c. 1200.
31. The Feeding of the Five Thousand. Refectory. c. 1200.
32. The Communion of Wine of the Apostles. Refectory. c. 1200.
33. The Communion of Bread of the Apostles. Refectory. c. 1200.
34. The Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane. Refectory. c. 1200.
35. The Betrayal. Refectory. c. 1200.
36. The Crucifixion. Refectory. Last quarter of the 13th century.
37. The Lamentation at the Tomb. Refectory. Last quarter of the 13th century.
38. The Myrrhophores at the Tomb. Refectory. Last quarter of the 13th century.
39. The Death of the Righteous Man. Refectory. Last quarter of the 13th century.
40. Detail from the Resurrection. Refectory. Last quarter of the 13th century.
41. St. Dionysios the Areopagite. Refectory. c. 1200.
42. St. Kyprianos. Refectory. c. 1200.
43. The Cave of the Revelation. Interior.
44. St. John the Theologian dictating to Prochoros. Cave of the Revelation. Last twenty years of the 12th century.

ICONS

1. St. Nicholas. Mosaic Icon. 11th century.(See also figs. 2,3).
2-3. Details of fig. 1.
4. St. John the Theologian. The «proskynesis» of the Monastery. 12th and 15th centuries.
5. Saint Theodore the Tiro. c. 1200.
6. Saint James the Brother of the Lord. c. 1260-1270.
7. Saint John the Baptist. 1480-1500.(See also fig. 8).
8. Detail of fig. 7.
9. The Crucifixion. Monastery of the Annunciation. First half of the 15th century (See also figs. 11, 12).
10. The Dormition of the Virgin. First half of the 15th century.(See also figs. 11, 12).
11-12. Details of fig. 10.
13. Saint Nicholas. First half of the 15th century.
14. The Embracing of Peter and Paul, by Angelos (?). Last decades of the 15th century.
15. Saint Nicholas and scenes from his life. Middle of the 15th century.
16. The Virgin and Saint Catherine, by Angelos. Second half of the 15th century.
17. The Virgin Pantanassa, by Andreas Ritzos. Second half of the 15th century.
18. Christ Pantokrator, by Andreas Ritzos. Second half of the 15th century. (See also fig. 20).
19. St. John the Theologian. c. 1500.
20. Bust of St. John the Theologian (detail of fig. 18).
21. Panagiarion. The Virgin between two venerating angels – The Hospitality of Abraham, by Nikolaos Ritzos (?). End of the 15th century.
22. Christ, the Man of Sorrow (Akra Tapeinosis), by Nikolaos Tzafouris (?). Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi. 1480-1500.
23. Double icon: The Raising of Lazarus – The Entry into Jerusalem. End of the 15th century.
24. The Miracle of Saint Michael at Chonae. c. 1500.
25. The Presentation in the Temple. End of the 15th century.
26. St. John the Theologian, dictating to Prochoros. Church of Ayia Ekaterina. Middle of the 16th century.
27. Double icon: The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple – The Presentation in the Temple, by Michael Damaskinos. Monastery of the Evangelismos. 1582-1592/3. (See also fig. 28).
28. Detail of fig. 27.
29. Triptych by Georgios Klontzas. Open, interior. c. 1596.(See also figs. 30-34).
30-34. Panels of the triptych of fig. 29.
35. The Revelation. The Vision of St. John, by Thomas Vathas. Cave of the Revelation. c. 1596. (See also fig. 36).
36. Detail of fig. 35.
37. Saint John the Hermit and scenes from his life. First decades of the 17th century.
38. The Three Church Fathers, by Jeremiah Palladas. Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi. First half of the 17th century.
39. Detail of fig. 40.
40. Deesis with Saint Andrew and Saint Paraskevi, by Ioannis Apakas, the priest. c. 1600. (See also fig. 39).
41. The Entombment of Christ. Church of the Ipapandi. 1620-1645.
42. Detail of fig. 43.
43. Saint Eustathios and scenes from his life. Church of the Panayia Eleimonitria. 1620-1640. (See also fig. 42).
44. Saint Onoufrios and scenes from his life, by Emmanuel Skordilis, the priest. 1650-1670.
45. The Five Saints of Sebasteia, by Emmanuel Skordilis, the priest. 1650-1670.
46. Detail of fig. 47.
47. 'In thee rejoiceth', by Theodoros Poulakis. 1670-1690. (See also figs. 46, 48, 49, 50, 51).
48-51. Details of fig. 47.
52. Hosios Christodoulos holding a model of the katholikon of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian. Monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, Chapel of the Theologian. 1610-1629.
53. The Virgin Enthroned with three donors. Church of the Panayia Eleimonitria. 1590.

CHURCH GOLD EMBROIDERIES

1. Aer with a scene of the Lamentation, by the embroideress Mariora. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1753.
2. Epitaphios with a scene of Christ-Amnos. 15th century.
3. Epitaphios with a scene of Christ-Amnos. 1460.
4. Aer with a scene of the Lamentation, with rich floral decoration, by the embroideress Florou. 1703. (See also figs. 5, 6).
5. Paten cover with a scene of Christ, Man of Sorrow, by the embroideress Florou (?). c. 1703. (See also figs. 4, 6).
6. Chalice cover. The King of Glory in the chalice – The Resurrection. c. 1703. (See also figs. 4, 5).
7. Cover for the chest containing the relic of Hosios Christodoulos, by the embroideress Sophia. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1749.
8-9. Epitrachelion with the Church Fathers (details).
10. Epitrachelion with the major Feasts. 15th century.
11. Epitrachelion. Peter and Paul (detail). From a Cretan workshop. 1728.
12. Lention with floral decoration. Coat of arms of the Kallergis family. From a Cretan workshop. 18th century.
13. Cross-shaped attachment of an omophorion, with a scene of the Annunciation and four prophets. 15th century.
14. Cross-shaped attachment of the omophorion. The Crucifixion and the four Evangelists by the embroideress Mariora. 1746.
15. Polos of omophorion, with a scene of the lost sheep. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1732.
16. Epigonation. Christ 'Anapeson'. 15th century.
17. Epigonation with the Deesis (Christ 'the Counseller'). 17th century.
18. Epigonation. The Evangelist Luke and medallions with the Virgin and saints. 17th century.
19. Epigonation with a scene of the Washing of the Feet. 1600.
20. Epigonation. The Revelation. The Vision of St. John. Hosios Christodoulos offering a model of the church. 1787.
21. Epigonation. The Descent into Hell. Byzantine iconography, Western art.
22. Epigonation with a scene of the Holy Trinity, by the embroideress Eusebia. From a Constantinopolitan workshop. 1734. (See also fig. 23).
23. A pair of epimanikia. The Annunciation. (See also fig. 22).
24-25. Mitre. Descent into Hell – Chorus of seraphim.
26-27. Mitre in the shape of a monk's hat. Christ, the Great High Priest – Double-headed eagle. 1682.
28. Sakkos. Middle of the 18th century.

CHURCH SILVER

1. Flabellum. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, filigree-work (h. 67.5 cm.).
2. Censer. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, cast (h. 28 cm.). From a Western workshop. 14th-15th centuries.
3. Polykandelon. Silver cast, engraved (h. 21.5 cm.). Made by Gerasimos. 1685.
4. Incense box. Silver hammered, embossed,

chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 22.5 cm.). Venice. 16th century.
5. Handled censer. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, openwork, engraved (h. 18.5 cm.). Smyrna (?). c. 1760.
6. Candlestick. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 57 cm.). Smyrna. 1759.
7. Candlestick. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 51.5 cm.). Venice. 18th century.
8. Lamp. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 57.5 cm.). Venice. Beginning of the 18th century.
9. Lamp. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, openwork, engraved, cast (h. 46.5 cm.). Smyrna. 1770
10. Lamp. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, openwork, engraved, cast (h. 50 cm.). Bucharest. 1786.
11. Lamp. Silver hammered, openwork, engraved (h. 14 cm.). 16th-17th centuries.
12. Small tankard. Silver hammered, engraved, chiselled, cast (h. 12.5 cm.). 16th century.
13. Censer. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, cast (h. 30.5 cm.). Constantinople (?). 1713
14. Dikerotrikera. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved (h. 29.3 cm. and 36.3 cm.). Beginning of the 19th century.
15. Tankard. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 19.5 cm.). Brasov (?). 17th century.
16. Incense box. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 40 cm.). 1757 (Foot: Venice. 16th century).
17-18.Processional cross. Silver with gilding, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 58.5 cm.). c. 1500 (?).
19. Cross. Wood, silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, cast (h. 58.9 cm.). 1711.
20. Sanctification cross. Wood, silver gilt, filigree-work, cast. Enamel, stones of glass paste (h. 30 cm.). Moscow. 1725.
21. Sanctification cross. Wood, silver gilt, cast. Filigree-work in enameled background, 'champlevé' enamel, stones of glass paste (h. 27.5 cm.). Constantinopolitan workshop (?). Second half of the 17th century.
22. Flabellum. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, (h. 45.5 cm.). End of the 17th century.
23-24. Enkolpion. Silver gilt. Precious stones, corals, painted enamel (total h. 17 cm.). Central precious stone (engraving): 13th-15th centuries. Setting: Moscow (?). Beginning of the 18th century.
25-26. Enkolpion. Silver gilt, engraved. Precious stones, painted enamel (largest diameter 10.5 cm.). Constantinople (?). 1686-1711.
27. Mitre. Silver gilt, embossed, chiselled, filigree-work, cast. Precious stones, enamel (h. 26 cm.). 1708-1714 (?).
28. Staff Silver cast partially gilt, engraved; silver filigree-work. Enamel, ivory, mother of pearl, tortoise shell, precious (?) stones (h. 1.62 m.). 1733.
29. Staff. Silver gilt, cast, engraved. Stones of glass paste (h. 1.72 m.). 1615-1628.
30. Patriarchal staff, by Michalakis Frantzis. Silver gilt, cast. Translucent and opaque enamel, diamonds. (h. 1.70 m.). Constantinople. 1677.
31. Sanctification cross. Wood, silver gilt, cast, filigree-work, granulated. Enamel, stones of glass paste (h. 21 cm.). Second half ot the 18th century.
32. Cross «of blessing». Wood, silver, filigree-work. Enamel, pearls, turquoise, stones of glass paste (h. 22.7 cm.). Second half of the 17th century.
33-34. Artophorion. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled. Stones of glass paste (h. 66.5 cm.). c. 1900.
35-36. Pectoral reliquary-cross. Gold hammered, embossed, chiselled. Pearls, turquoise, precious stones (h. 13 cm.). Georgia. 16th century (?)
37. Enkolpion. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved (diam. 6.4 cm.). 15th century (?).
38. Icon with silver revetment. Wood, silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved. Pearls, turquoise, precious (?) stones (h. 32 cm.). Russia. 17th century.
39-40. Details of fig. 41.
41. Chalice. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 54.5 cm.). Venice. 16th century. (See also figs. 39.40).
42. Chalice. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, openwork, engraved (h. 23.5 cm.). Smyrna (?). 1756.
43. Chalice, by Panagos. Silver partially gilt, hammered, cast. Stones of glass paste, niello (h. 23 cm.). 1676.
44. Chalice. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, filigree-work. Enamel (h. 21.7 cm.). 1753.
45. Cover of a book of the Four Gospels, by Thomas Chrysochoos. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved (h. 10.5 cm.). Karyes, Mount Athos. 1847.
46-47. Cover of a Gospel book, by G. May II (1688-1712). Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (h. 37.6 cm.). Brasov. 1697.
48-49. Cover of a Gospel book. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved (h. 37.7 cm.). Bucharest. 1787.
50-51. Cover of a Gospel book. Velvet, silver gilt, embossed in matrix, chiselled (h. 35 cm.). c. 1815.
52. Reliquary. Silver partially gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved. Mother-of-pearl, precious (?) stones. (l. 35 cm.). Moscow. Second decade of the 18th century.
53. Revetment of the chest containing the relic of Hosios Christodoulos. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, (l. 1.795 m.). Smyrna. 1796.
54. Reliquary. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved. (l. 28.8 cm.). 1784.
55. Plate. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved (diam. 36.5 cm). Constantinople (?). c. 1820.
56. Sanctification basin. Silver hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, cast (largest diameter 73 cm.). Venice 1672-1693.
57. Icon with silver revetment, by Ioannis the Peloponnesian. Silver gilt, hammered, embossed, chiselled, engraved, (h. 59 cm.). 1738.

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

1. Codex 81. Gospels. 22×16 cm. 1333/4. (See also figs. 41-45).
2-4. Codex 171. The Book of Job. 37×25,5 cm. 9th century.
5-8. Codex 33. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. 43,5×34 cm. 941.
9-14. Codex 70. Gospel Lectionary. 26,5×18,5 cm. Early 10th century.
15-16. Codex 72. Gospels. 30,3×23,5 cm. Second half of the 10th century.
17-18. Codex 79. Gospel Lectionary. 32,5×25,8 cm.
19. Codex 45. The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. 33,4×23,3 cm. Middle of the 11th century.
20-24. Codex 274. Gospels. 14,8×11 cm. First half of the 12th century.
25-34. Liturgical roll, no. 707. The Liturgies of St. Basil and the Presanctified. 582,5×21 cm. Early 13th century.
35-38. Codex 80. Gospels. 25,5×19,5 cm. Early 13th century.
39-40. Codex 82. Gospels. 18,8×14 cm. Early 14th century.
41-45. Codex 81. Gospels. 22×16 cm. 1333/4. (See also fig. 1).

LIBRARY

1. Gospel book. Purple codex 67 (fol. 22^{v}). Majuscule biblical script. 6th century.
2. Gospel Lectionary (codex 69, fol. 138^{v}). Majuscule script (uncial). 9th century.
3. The Homilies of Gregory the Theologian (codex 40, fol. 71^{v}). Minuscule script with commentary in the margins. 10th-11th centuries.
4. The Homilies of John Chrysostomos (codex 138, fol. 143^{v}). Small minuscule script. 988.
5. Hymns by Romanos the Melodist (codex 212, fol. 121). Minuscule script. 11th century.
6. The Homilies of Gregory the Theologian (codex 33, fol. 7). Minuscule script in three columns, with commentary in a majuscule script.(Detail). 941.
7. Manuscript with hymns (stichirarion) (codex 222, fol. 254). Minuscule script, and an early form of musical notation. 12th century.
8. Liturgy of Chrysostomos (scroll 720, leaf 10). Minuscule script. 15th century.
9. The chrysobull of Alexios I Comnenos, providing for the founding of the Monastery, with the emperor's signature, in cinnabar. April 1088.

10. Chrysobull of Alexios I Comnenos with the golden seal of the emperor. April 1088.
11. The enactment handing over the island of Patmos. Scroll. August 1088.
12. Register of the Monastery's documents. End of the 12th – beginning of the 13th centuries.
13. Enactment of the Secretary of the Sea. October [1195].
14. Two scripts by the official 'in charge of the imperial ink-pot'. August [1273].
15-16. Lead seal. 1251.
17. Document issued by the Doge of Venice. 20 June 1590.
18. Document issued by the Grand Master. 14 June 1613.
19. Copy of a firman issued by Mehmed II the Conqueror. 1454.
20. Letter from the Tsar Alexios Michailovic. 1656.
21. 'Anthology of various epigrams', with painted initials and commentary. Florence 1494.
22. 'Grammatical Introduction' by Theodoros Gazis, with commentary and owner's inscription. Aldus Manutius 1495.
23. 'The Cyclical Theory of Cleomedes', with owner's inscriptions. Paris 1539.
24. Interpretation of the fourth book of Gazis' Grammar, by Daniel Kerameus. Venice 1785.
25. 'Evangelical Trumpet', by Makarios Kaloyeras, with owner's inscription. Leipzig 1765.
26. 'Interpretation of the Gospel according to John', by John Chrysostomos, with owner's inscription. [Heidelberg] 1603.

INDEX

All proper names and place names have been included in the index. Names of saints, the words «Patmos» and «The Monastery of St. John the Theologian», and the names of the various buildings of the monastery have been omitted. Also the captions, the bibliography and the notes have not been included.

A

Abdou (Crete), 112
Aegean Sea-islands, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 29, 35, 68, 199, 224, 225, 234, 239, 328, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 339, 342, 344
Aesop, 343
Agapios, monk, 231
Agathangelos, Bishop of Karyoupolis, 222, 231, 232
Agathi, nun and embroideress, 190
Ai-Stratigos Boularion, church (Mani), 60
Alemsah, son of Beyezid II, 338
Alexandroupolis (Thrace), 286
Alexeevic Theodore, son of Mikhailovic Alexios, 338
Amalfi (Italy), 12
Amboise Emeri de, Grand Master, 338
Ammonius, 340
Amsterdam (Holland), 344
Ancona (Italy), 113
Angelos, painter, 59, 106, 113
Angelos Akotantos, painter, 113
Angelos Alexios, emperor, 332
Angelos Isaakios, emperor, 332
Anthimos, Metropolitan of Tyrnavos, 195
Anthimos from Kephallinia, monk, 238
Antioch (Asia Minor), 190
Antwerp (Belgium), 344
Anyphandis family, 122
Apakas Ioannis, priest and painter, 106, 121
Apollonius Rhodius, 343
Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea, 329
Areti, nun and embroideress, 190
Aristophanes, 343
Aristotle, 14, 340, 343
Arius, 107
Arkioi, island, 57
Arsenios, abbot, 223
Arta (Epiros), 345
Asia Minor, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 122, 192, 226, 227, 230, 277, 279, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337
Athanasios, abbot, 222, 231
Athanasios, Patriarch of Antioch, 57, 67
Athens, 108, 109, 111, 290, 291
Attaleia (Asia Minor), 122
Attaleiatis Michael, patrician, 185
Aubusson Pierre de, 225
Augsburg (Germany), 229
Ayia Ekaterina, church (Chora), 118
Ayioi Anargyroi, church (Kastoria), 63, 65, 108
Ayios Dimitrios, church (Vladimir), 67
Ayios Klimis, church (Ochrid), 66
Ayios Nikolaos, church (island of Megiste), 192
Ayios Nikolaos, church (Kastoria), 63, 108

B

Balkans, 20, 127, 226, 227, 230
Baltimore (U.S.A.), 121
Baltoyannis S., restorer, 117
Bari (Italy), 12, 13, 116
Barskij Basil, 29
Basle (Switzerland), 344, 345
Bathas family, see Vathas
Batskovo (Bulgaria), 67
Bessarion, Reliquary of, 111
Beyezid II, sultan, 338
Bistritsa (Romania), 193
Bizye (Asia Minor), 196
Boukoleon port (Constantinople), 190
Braşov (Romania), 230
Brîncoveanu Constantine, prince of Wallachia, 230
Bucarest (Romania), 193, 237, 344
Buchthal Hugo, 294
Budapest (Hungry), 114
Bulgaria, 67
Byzantium, 11, 12, 13, 16, 68, 186, 187, 282

C

Cairo (Egypt), 113
Calabria (South Italy), 19, 280
Catherine the Great of Russia, 222, 237
Cavallo Guglielmo, 280
Cave of the Revelation, 57, 121, 187, 222, 237, 294, 295, 341, 342
Centre of Byzantine Research, 334
Chalkidiki (North Greece), 108
Chalkokondylis Dimitrios, 343
Chandaka, see Heraklion
Chania (Crete), 106, 122, 124, 338
Chatzidakis Manolis, 17, 29, 57, 58, 59, 65, 187
Chios, island, 33, 106, 342
Choiseul-Gouffier, 341
Chora (Patmos), 25, 29, 32, 33, 34, 57, 106, 118, 123, 126, 127, 225, 226, 339
Christ the Saviour, church (Constantinople), 280
Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Lacedaemonia and Tripolitsa, 196
Chrysanthos, protosynkelos of Smyrna, 238
Cicogna Pasqual, doge of Venice, 338
Čiprovac (Yugoslavia), 227, 236
Clarke E.D., 342, 343
Cluny, monastery 11
Cologne, 344
Comnena Anna, 286, 333
Comnena Maria, 195
Comneni, dynasty, 13, 198
Comneni Grand, family 186
Comnenos Alexios I, emperor, 12, 13, 57, 68, 198, 277, 286, 332, 336
Comnenos Isaakios, emperor, 288
Comnenos Isaakios, sebastokrator, 286
Comnenos John II, emperor, 286, 332
Comnenos Manuel, emperor, 190, 332
Constantinople, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, 62, 63, 68, 105, 111, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 194, 195, 196, 199, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 233, 234, 237, 277, 279, 280, 284, 286, 288, 290, 292, 331, 332, 335, 336, 337, 340, 341, 344, 345
Corfu (Kerkyra), island, 120, 123, 126, 232
Crete, island, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, 33, 69, 105, 106, 107, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 120, 122, 191, 193, 224, 234, 333, 334, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341
Crimaea, 195, 338
Crusade-Crusaders, 11, 12, 13, 185, 186, 327, 334, 335, 336

Cyclades, islands, 57, 124
Cyprus, 18, 63

D

Dafni, see monastery
Dalassina Anna, mother of Alexios I Comnenos, 12, 332
Dalmatia, 121
Damaskinos Michael, painter, 106, 119, 120, 121, 122, 126
Daniel, Metropolitan of Sebastia, 187, 196, 222, 236, 237
Daniel, monk and scribe, 280, 282
Daniel, son of Georgios, craftsman, 33
Daniel Kerameus, director of the Patmian School, 341, 344
Daniel of Crete, monk, 107
Delousas Ioannis, painter, 106
Demosthenes, 343
Didymoteichon (Thrace), 228
Diehl Charles, 185
Diodorus Siculus, 329
Dionysios IV, Patriarch of Constantinople, 227, 228, 233
Dionysios of Fourna, 61
Directorate of Restoration of the Ministry of Education, 34
Dodekanese, islands, 34, 224
Doukas Michael VII, emperor, 332
Dürer A., painter, 121

E

Ecumenical Patriarchate, 190, 195, 196
Efthymios Kontoleos, monk, 228
Egina, island, 66, 126
Elzevier, editor, 344
England, 329, 344
Ephesos (Asia Minor), 11, 190
Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodekanese, 34
Ephraim of Syria, 191
Epiros, 238
Estienne Robert and Henry, editors, 34
Euboea, island, 66, 333, 336
Euphrosynos, priest and painter, 116
Euripides, 340
Europe, 21, 26, 186, 229, 230
Eusebia, embroideress, 196, 198
Eustathios, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, 329
Exhibition of Byzantine Art in Athens, 109

F

Fatourou Kanto, 25
Fénelon F., 344
Fetiye Camii, see Pammakaristos
Florence (Italy), 343
Florou, embroideress, 190, 191
Frankfurt (Germany), 344
Franks, 13, 63, 68, 185, 190, 339
Frantzis Michalakis, craftsman, 223, 228

G

Galenus, 343
Galileo G., 344
Gallo Andrea, 345
Gavdos, island, 122
Gazis Theodoros, 343
Gedeon, 229
Geneva(Switzerland), 344
Genoa (Italy), 13
Georgia (Russia), 18, 107
Gerasimos, craftsman, 223, 227
Gerasimos, embroiderer, 194
Gerasimos, Metropolitan of Old Patrai, 187, 195, 196, 233
Gerasimos Byzantios, monk and director of the Patmian School, 341, 343, 344
Germanos, abbot, 189, 223, 224, 336
Germanos, monk, 66
Germany, 229, 230, 340
Gika Maria, 237
Giotto, painter, 123
Giscard Robert, 13
Giuliani, editor, 344
Giunti, editor, 344
Glykis, N., editor, 344
Goldoni C., 344
Gradenigo Pietro, doge of Venice, 338
Greek College (Venice), 224
Greek war of Independence (1821), 33, 34, 339, 342
Gregorios, Metropolitan of Didymoteichon, 228
Gregory XIII, Pope, 224
Gregory of Lesbos and shepherd of Athens, 196
Guarinus Favorinus, see Lexicon
Gyraldus Lilius, 345

H

Halepi (Asia Minor), 190
Heidelberg (Germany), 344
Heraklion (Crete), 106, 114, 121, 337
Herzegovina, 114, 236
Holy Apostles, church (Kastoria), 108
Holy Apostles, metochion (Kalymnos), 67
Holy Land, 68
Hosios Loukas in Phokis, 286

I

Iakovos, abbot, 338
Iakovos, Metropolitan of Myra, 197
Iakovos Anastasiou, monk, 190, 235, 236
Iakovos Siphantos, abbot, 228
Iconium (Asia Minor), 13
Ierotheos Floridis, monk and Monastery librarian, 343
Ikaria, island, 332
Ioakeim and Anne, chapel (Constantinople), 62
Ioannis (from Pontus), craftsman, 223
Ioannis the Peloponnesian, craftsman, 223, 234, 235
Ionian Sea-islands, 12, 13, 191, 194
Ipapandi, church (Chora), 123
Irini, nun and embroideress, 190
Italy 12, 117, 224, 225, 226, 280, 284, 340, 341, 345

J

Jaroslav (Russia), 229
Jerusalem, 16, 19, 61, 63, 68, 69, 109, 110, 116, 190, 197, 284, 288
Jessy (Romania), 344
John, Bishop of Rhodes, 57, 67
John IX Agapitos, Patriarch of Constantinople, 336
John of Antioch, 12
Jordan (river), 286
Joseph Iasitis, abbot, 336

K

Kaisarios Galanakis, monk and craftsman, 223
Kallarytes (Epiros), 238
Kallergis family, 194
Kalliergis Zacharias, 343
Kallinikos Metropolitan of Samos, 236
Kallistos, monk, 193
Kallistos Xanthopoulos Nicholas, 295
Kaloyeras Pothitos, 228
Kalymnos, island, 67, 334, 339
Kantakouzenos Konstantinos, 345
Kapodistrias J., 342
Karantinos Nikitas, 337
Kariye Camii, see Monastery
Karpathos, island, 32, 192
Karyes (Mount Athos), 238
Karyoupolis (Peloponnese), 222
Kastellorizo, see Megiste
Kastoria (North Greece), 63, 65, 108
Katargi Dimitrios, 345
Katastasis (Patmos), 294
Kazan (Russia), 229
Kea, island, 338
Kephallinia, island, 126, 238
Kerkyra, see Corfu
Kiev (Russia), 107, 186
Klontzas Georgios, painter, 106, 119, 120, 122, 126
Knights of Saint John, 224
Kokkos Frangiskos, 345
Kolettis Ioannis, 342
Kolossae (Asia Minor), 338
Konstantine Porphyrogennitos, emperor, 198
Korais Adamantios, 342, 343
Korkut, son of Bayezid II, 338
Kornaros Ioannis, 113
Korydaleus Theophilos, 341, 344
Kos, island, 33, 67, 231, 331, 332, 334, 337
Koutalinos Vasileios, monk and director of the Patmian School, 341
Krallis Michael, 345
Kremlin, 228, 229
Krimbas collection, 114
Kritikos Panayotis, 343
Kurbinovo (Yugoslavia), 65, 108, 292
Kydonies (Asia Minor), 342
Kyprianos, Patriarch of Constantinople, 228, 233
Kyrillos, Bishop of Kyzikos, 232
Kyrillos Katelanakis, monk, 345
Kyrillos Loukaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, 123, 198
Kyzikos (Asia Minor), 232

L

Laodicea (Asia Minor), 32, 192, 340
Laskaris Ianos, 343
Laskaris Konstantinos, 343
Latins, 11, 12, 192, 337

Latros, mount, 57, 105, 277, 331, 335, 336
Leipso, island, 57, 121, 334
Lemnos, island, 333, 334
Leontios II, abbot of the Monastery and Patriarch of Jerusalem, 63, 68, 69, 330, 344
Leros, island, 57, 67, 334, 338
Lesbos, island, 196, 228
Lexicon of Guarinus Favorinus, 343
Lexicon of Souidas, 343
Library: Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), 60, 280, 331; Bodlein Library (Oxford), 228; National Library (Athens), 290; Vatican Library (Rome), 288, 331
Limenitis Achilles, 337
Lodovico Scarampa, Patriarch of Venice, 338
Lombardoi, painters, 125
Lombardos Emmanuel, painter, 124
London, 344
Lorenzetti A., painter, 123
Loukas Chrysovergis, Patriarch of Constantinople, 336
Lucian, 343
Lycia (Asia Minor), 191

M

Maeander (Asia Minor), 334
Makarios Kaloyeras, monk, founder of the Patmian School, 190, 234, 341, 344
Mani (Peloponnese), 60
Manoutius Aldus, editor, 21, 343
Manuel, craftsman, 33
Manzikert, battle of, 12
Maras Grigorios, priest, 113
Marie, nun and embroideress, 190
Mariora, embroideress, 190, 191, 195, 196, 199
Martini Simone, painter, 123
Mastrostephanis, craftsman, 33
Mathas Nikolaos, 32
Matthew, Metropolitan of Myra, 191, 192
Mavriotissa, church (Kastoria), 63, 66
Mavroudis, 235
May II Georg, craftsman, 229
Mediterraneam, basin, 13, 14, 19, 20, 226, 278, 284, 341
Megiste (Kastellorizo), island, 192
Mehmed II the Conqueror, sultan, 338
Menikos (Crete), 337
Merkourios, monk, 222
Messara (Crete), 337
Metastasio P., 344
Meteora, see Monastery
Mikhailovic Alexios, tsar, 338
Milan, 343
Miletos (Asia Minor), 11, 334, 335, 337
Millet G., 193
Milos, island, 339
Misael, Metropolitan of Didymoteichon, 234
Moldavia, 127, 186, 224, 338
Molyvokklisia, church (Mount Athos), 125
Monastery: Archangel Michael (Rhodes), 61; Arkadi (Crete), 194; Baloukli (Zoodochos Pigi-Constantinople), 62; Chilandari (Mount Athos), 125; Chora (Kariye Camii-Constantinople) 112, 123, 286, 293; Dafni, 119, 289; Dionysiou (Mount Athos), 125; Evangelismos (Patmos), 110, 119; Gderneto (Crete), 122; Great Lavra (Mount Athos), 121, 193, 333; Hodegetria (Crete), 114; Hodegon (Constantinople), 111; Iveron, 197; Ipsilou (Lesbos), 227; Kamariotissa (Chalki), 190; Kosmosoteira (Bera), 286; Meteora (Thessaly), 33; Panoiktirmon (Constantinople), 185; Pantokrator (Constantinople), 190; Prodromos (Palestine), 286; Putna (Romania), 186, 193, 195, 224; Saint Catherine on Sinai, 113, 114, 115, 194, 283, 292, 328, 331; Saint John Artamites (Rhodes), 68; Saint John of Stylos, metochion (Crete), 105, 224, 338, 339; Saint Paul (Mount Athos), 238; Saint Sabbas (Palestine), 286, 287, 288; Spondon (metochion on Kos), 332; Stavronikita (Mount Athos), 118, 197, 284, 285, 287; Theotokos (Milos), 338; Topla (Herzegovina), 114; Vatopedi (Mount Athos), 193; Virgin Petritsiotissa (Bulgaria), 185; Zographou (Mount Athos), 224; Zoodochos Pigi (Patmos), 32, 59, 117, 122, 126
Monemvasia (Peloponnese), 186
Monreale (Sicily), 60, 63
Moratsa (Yugoslavia), 109
Moschopolis (Albania), 344
Moscow, 18, 222, 228, 231, 232, 233, 239, 344
Moskos Leos, painter, 126
Mount Athos, 14, 17, 224, 238, 280, 284, 287, 292, 331, 333
Mount Sinai, see Monastery
Moussouros Markos, 343
Muscovy, 229, 230, 233, 338
Museum: Ashmolean (Oxford), 114; Benaki (Athens), 113, 114; Byzantine (Athens), 117, 126, 193; Hermitage (Leningrad), 107, 108; Kunsthistorisches (Vienna), 114, 117; Metropolitan (N. York), 118; of Art (Bucharest), 193; of Decorative Arts (Budapest), 114; of Fine Arts (Tokyo), 115; Victoria and Albert (London), 197; Walters Arts Gallery (Baltimore), 121
Mykonos, island, 13
Myra (Asia Minor), 13, 191, 197
Mystras (Peloponnese), 17; Pantanassa, 112; Metropolis, 192

N

National Hellenic Research Foundation, 334, 339
Naxos, island, 338, 339
Neilos, abbot of the monastery of Saint John Artamites on Rhodes, 68
Nektarios, Bishop of Sardis, 33, 34, 222, 238
Nektarios of Philippoupolis, 199
Nektarios Thomaos, abbot, 194
Neophytos, Bishop of Arta, 345
Neophytos VI, Patriarch of Constantinople, 185, 187, 196, 199, 222, 228, 233, 234
Neophytos Grimanis, Archbishop of Karpathos, 32
Nicaea, empire of, 334
Nicholaos, monk and scribe, 280, 282
Nikephoros Kaloyeras (Fradellos), abbot, 228
Nikephoros of Crete (Chartophylax), abbot and bishop of Laodicea, 32, 59, 69, 120, 221, 222, 226, 340, 344
(Kyr)Nikephoros, Bishop of Zitounion, 231
Nikolaos Grammatikos, Patriarch of Constantinople, 336
Nikomedia (Asia Minor), 186, 196
Nisyros, island, 234
Normans, 13, 14

O

Ochrid (Yugoslavia), 66, 195
Omorfi Ekklisia, church (Egina), 66
Orlandos Anastasios, 25, 27, 28, 34, 57, 65
Oxford, 114

P

Païsios, Patriarch of Constantinople, 190
Païsios Karapatas, monk and director of the Patmian School, 342
Pakourianos Gregorios, domestic, 185
Paleokapas Konstantinos, painter, 123
Paleologaena Maria Asanina, 186
Paleologaena Sofia, 186
Paleologos Andronikos I, emperor, 332
Paleologos Andronikos II, emperor, 332
Paleologos John, emperor, 337
Paleologos Michael VIII, 332, 337
Palermo (Sicily), 12
Palladas Jeremiah, painter, 106, 122, 123
Pammakaristos (Fetiye Camii), church (Constantinople), 222
Panagos, craftsman, 223, 227
Panayia Karyona, church (Rhodes), 225
Panayia Spiliani, church (Nisyros), 234
Pantanassa, church, see Mystras
Papa-Mitrofanis, priest, 228
Papadaki-Oekland Stella, 280
Papadopoulos Stelios, 25
Paris (France), 342, 344, 346
Parthenios, abbot, 235
Parthenios Chatzikos, abbot, 235
Parthenios Pangostas, abbot, 32, 33, 66, 121
Patino, Palmosa (= Patmos), 12, 338
Patmian School, 14, 190, 234, 330, 338, 339, 341, 342, 343, 345
Patriarchal Academy (Constantinople), 341
Pausanias, 343
Peč (Yugoslavia), 227
Peloponnese, 14, 105
Perry Ch., 13
Peter I, son of Mikhailovic Alexios, 338
Petsenengoi, 12
Pherrai (=Bera) (Thrace), 286
Philip Auguste (of France), 13
Philip III (of Spain), 338
Phokianou Anna, 122
Photios, Metropolitan of Kiev, 186
Pindar, 340, 343
Pinelli, editor, 344
Pius II, Pope, 338
Plato, 329, 330, 342
Plutarch, 343
Pococke R., 14
Pontus, 223, 227
Poulakis Theodoros, painter, 106, 125, 126
Proclus, 329, 330
Protaton (Mount Athos), 292
Psomatheia, 344
Putna, see Monastery

R

Rhegium (Reggio) (Calabria), 19, 280, 282
Rhodes, island, 12, 13, 32, 61, 67, 68, 224, 225, 338
Ritzos Andreas, painter, 106, 110, 114, 115, 116, 117, 127
Ritzos Nikolaos, painter, 106, 115, 117, 118, 121
Romania, 186, 224, 233, 236
Romanos the Melodist, 329
Rome, 224, 279, 288, 340, 343
Rousseau J.J., 341
Russia, 186, 222, 229, 232, 237, 239, 337, 341

S

Sabbas, abbot, 336
Sabbas (from Pontus), craftsman, 223
Sabio da, editor, 344
Saint George of Aporthiana, church (Chora), 33
Saint John the Theologian, metochion (Leros), 67
Saint Panteleimon, metochion (Kea), 337
Saint Sophia, church (Constantinople), 189
Samos, island, 236
Samuel, Patriarch of Constantinople, 222, 228
Santa Maria Capua Vetere, church (Italy), 281
Santorini, island, 108, 233
Sarajevo (Yugoslavia), 117, 118, 121
Sardis (Asia Minor), 33, 222
Sarros N., editor, 344
Selino (Crete), 123
Seraglio, Octateuch of, 286, 288
Seraphim I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 186, 196
Severus Gabriel, 345
Sibiu (Transylvania), 224
Sicilians,13
Sicily, 16, 126, 225, 282
Sinai, see Monastery
Sinope (Asia Minor), 227
Siphnos, island, 108, 121
Skordilis Emmanuel, priest and painter, 106, 124
Smyrna (Asia Minor), 13, 14, 18, 222, 234, 235, 238, 339, 342
Smyrnakis Gerasimos, chronicler, 107
Sofianos Nikolaos, 345
Sophia, embroideress, 190, 199
Sophocles, 329, 343
Sophronia, nun and embroideress, 190
Sophronios,Metropolitan of Irinoupolis, 222
Sopočani (Yugoslavia), 63, 109
Souidas, see Lecixon
Soutsos Ioannis, 237
Soutsos Konstantinos, 196
Soutzos Michael, voivod, 187, 196, 222, 236, 237
Spinelli, editor, 344
Split (Yugoslavia), 126
Sporades, islands, 342
Stamatis of Chios, painter,106
Stavridou Ekaterina, 113
Stephen the Great, 193, 195, 224
Stroganof collection, 188
Strovilos, island, 331
Studeniča (Yugoslavia), 292
Suleiman the Magnificent, sultan, 338
Symeon Metaphrastes, 294
Symi, island, 234

T

Tafrali, O.,195
Tatars, 337
Thari (Rhodes), 61
Thebes (Boeotia), 196, 233
Theodora, wife of Michael Paleologos, 332, 333
Theodoros, painter, 106
Theodosios, monk, 67, 68
Theodosios, Protosynkelos, 235
Theodosiou D. and P., editors, 344
Theoktistos, abbot, 336
Theophanis, painter, 116, 118
Theotokis Nikephoros, 342
Thessalonike (North Greece), 13, 329
Thomas the Goldsmith, 238
Thrace, 286
Timeus, 329, 330
Tokyo, 115
Transylvania, 18, 222, 224, 230, 237
Trebizond (Asia Minor), 186
Tripolis (Asia Minor), 190
Tsayeri (Georgia), 107
Tsigaridas E., 65
Tsoukouli (Georgia), 107
Turks, 11, 12, 13, 14, 33, 68, 105, 224, 327, 331, 333, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339
Turks Ottoman,13, 14
Turks Seljuk, 14
Tyrnavos (Thessaly), 195
Tzachas, Emir of Smyrna, 12
Tzafouris Nikolaos, painter, 106, 117
Tzanfournaris Emmanuel, painter, 123
Tzanzis Nikolaos, 14, 57
Tzimouris Athanasios, craftsman, 238

U

Ucello P., painter, 58

V

Vendotis G., editor, 344
Venetians, 13, 14, 105, 224
Venice, 13, 14, 16, 18, 29, 33, 120, 121, 126, 222, 224, 225, 332, 338, 341, 342, 344, 345
Venice Institute, 124
Vienna, 114, 117, 187, 196, 331, 343, 344
Virgin, church (Studeniča), 292
Virgin Eleimonitria, church (Chora), 123, 127
Virgin Kastrianon, metochion (Kos), 67
Virgin of the Pharos, church (Constantinople), 189, 190
Vlacherna, church (Constaninople), 189
Vladimir (Russia), 67
Voïlas Efstathios, 185
Voltaire, 341, 344
Vortolis D., editor, 344
Votaneiatis Nikephoros, emperor, 332
Voulgaris Evgenios, 342

W

Wallachia, 127, 186, 222, 230, 237, 338
Wignacourt Alofius de, Grand Master,338

X

Xenophon, 343
Xenos Pothitos, 341

Z

Zachariou Ph., restorer, 107-114, 116-121, 123-125
Zagarommatis Georgios, 335
Zagorsk (Russia), 186
Zakynthos, island, 114, 339
Zanetti, editor, 344
Zonaras Ioannis, 345
Zosimas brothers, 342
Zurich, 344

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Acknowledgement

The publisher would like to thank
the 'SAMOURKEIO FOUNDATION'
and the 'INTERAMERICAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY'
for their purchase in advance
of a major number of copies
thus contributing to the financing of this edition

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N
7951
.A3
P37713
1988

Thēsauroi tēs Monēs Patmou. English.
Patmos : treasures of the monastery / general editor, Athanasios D. Kominis ; [translation, David A. Hardy]. -- Athens, Greece : Ekdotike Athenon, c1988.
383 p. : col. ill. ; 32 cm.
Translation of: Hoi Thēsauroi tēs Monēs Patmou.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Hiera Monē Iōannou tou Theologou Patmou. 2. Christian art and symbolism--Greece--Patmos Island. 3. Orthodox Eastern Church and art. 4. Monasteries--Greece. 5. Art, Byzantine. I . Komines, Athanasios D. II. Title

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